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TRIPOLI AND THE TREATIES

BRITAIN'S DUTY IN THIS WAR

A PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACTS FOR THE MAN IN THE STREET

BY

WILLIAM T. STEAD

PRICE SIXPENCE

Publishing Office: BANK BUILDINGS, KINGSWAY

NOVEMBER, 1911

TRIPOLI AND THE TREATIES

OR

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By W. T. STEAD.

Price Sixpence.

Published at STEAD'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, Bank Buildings, Kingsway, London.

November, 1911.

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CHAPTER I.

An Appeal to the Reader.

One of those decisive moments has arrived in the history of mankind when the destiny of the future hangs upon the promptitude with which we seize an opportunity that once neglected goes by for ever.

For years past we have seen the stealthy encroachment of lawless Might upon the Rights of Nations. It was difficult to say at what precise point this tendency could be challenged. There was always some semblance of justification pleaded by the aggressor. Always some complication which rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the masses of mankind to form a clear idea as to the issue at stake. But at last an occasion has arisen in which it is impossible for anyone to be in any doubt as to the issue that has been raised. The Italian attack upon Tripoli is one of those rare crimes which are devoid of any semblance of justification or excuse, which are equally a violation of the moral law and the law of nations. Against this we must one and all take our stand or for ever hold our peace.

Anything more wicked than the Italian seizure of Tripoli it is impossible to conceive. It is as if the Author of all Evil had deliberately said to his fiends in council, "Go to, let us see whether or not the conscience of the world is dead. We pricked it with Morocco; it did not stir. We seared it with Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and it remained impassive. Perhaps it is really dead. But let us make certain. Therefore let us create a crime so flagrant, compounded out of outrages so inexcusable, that if there be even a lone glimmering spark of vitality left in the moral sense of the world, it must be fanned into a flame. If the conscience of mankind will stand the Italian seizure of Tripoli it will stand anything. Therefore let us try it on."

The Devil has tried it on, and we are face to face with one of these supreme moral questions which decide the destiny of nations. "Some great cause—God's new Messiah!" has once more risen in our midst to divide the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right. The governments have, by a process of natural selection, gravitated to the side of the goats. "But hast thou chosen, oh, my people, on whose party you shall stand, Ere the doom from the worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?" It is a question for you, for me, for all of us. Above all it is a question for all who profess, however perfunctorily, to belong to the Church of Christ.

The Italians, their own allies—nay, their own ultimatum—being witness, are absolutely and demonstrably in the wrong. They have trodden under foot their own solemn treaties, they have defied their own allies, they have done none of the things

which they ought to have done, they have done all the things they ought not to have done. There is no excuse conceivable for them beyond the excuse of the highwayman and the burglar: "I coveted my neighbour's goods, I have taken them, and I mean to keep them." But against this monstrous claim, which destroys at one fell blow the treaties on which European peace depends, and the regard for the great usage of the comity of nations, whereby alone it is possible for weak nations to exist in safety by the side of their stronger neighbours, Humanity is rousing itself to protest. That protest will grow stronger every day until at last it will force Cabinets to do its bidding, and Italy will be compelled to disgorge its ill-gotten plunder in Africa.

I appeal to my countrymen to do what in them lies to defend the threatened law of nations and the endangered safely of smaller Powers from this monstrous and inexcusable attack upon civilisation and humanity. I bear no ill-will to the Italians. The more articulate among them have temporarily gone mad. The Italian Government needs a strait waistcoat. It is for you and for me to see that that strait waistcoat is applied.

It is a testimony that is due from British Christianity. Last month the Churches, established and disestablished, were worked up to an extraordinary pitch of excitement in order to prevent one black man beating one white man in a boxing match.

But when a nominally Christian nation carries fire and sword into the territories of its neighbour in order to seize a province the Christian Churches preserve an ominous and sinister silence.

The Socialists throughout the whole of Europe have protested and are protesting against this monstrous crime. The Christian Churches are mute. Is Christianity dead amongst us? And if Christ came to Europe would he find the only followers of the Prince of Peace among the Socialists and those who repudiate His authority?

It is for you and for me to decide. If at this supreme moment we remain silent we become accomplices in the crime, and we shall share in the retribution which sooner or later will overtake the transgressor. For myself I have done what I could. I was sent to Constantinople as the emissary of an International Arbitration Emergency Committee, and I have secured from the Sultan and from his Ministers and from the representatives of the Ottoman people, a declaration unanimous and enthusiastic in favour of submitting the whole dispute to arbitration. Italy refuses to allow any international authority to decide upon the justice of her claim. Every friend of peace, every believer in international arbitration is bound to do his utmost to support the appeal of the Turks to an international tribunal. If we are silent and apathetic at this supreme moment, we shall be like the men who held the clothes of those who stoned Stephen the First Martyr of the Christian Church.

I am no partisan of the Turks. No living man has written more articles and published more pamphlets denouncing the misdeeds of the late Turkish Government in Europe and in Asia. But even the Devil has a right to fair play, and the Turks, even if anti-human, ought not to be treated as wild beasts. Three years ago the Turks abolished their despot, established a parliament, and manfully attempted to introduce a régime of liberty and progress. Now, while still struggling with the enormous difficulties of their task, they are waylaid by an international highwayman, whose avowed design is to wrest from them their African possessions. However atrocious Abdul Hamid may have been, Italy has no right to annex the provinces of his successor.

England 1911.

Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour:
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart:
Thou had'st a voice whose sound was like the sea;
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So did'st thou travel on life's common way
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

Our Duty in Tripoli.

It is not to be thought of that the Flood
Of British freedom, which to the open Sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed; "with pomp of waters unwithstood,"
Roused though it be full often in a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous Stream in Bogs and Sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our Halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible Knights of old:
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

I quote Wordsworth's immortal sonnets because they express what ought to be the mood of the nation confronted as it is to-day by the challenge of a monstrous crime. The Italian

attack upon Tripoli is the culmination of a long series of incidents which have proved that we are living in "one of those recurring eras when force, truculent and unabashed, sweeps away the moral judgments of the world." It has, unfortunately, found Great Britain without any spokesman on either side of the House competent to express with adequate authority the horror and loathing inspired by the latest and most cynical outrage upon the elementary principles of international intercourse. Since the *coup d'état* of the Third Napoleon nothing quite so infamous has been accomplished by men in authority. Victor Hugo voiced the conscience of mankind on that occasion as Mr. Gladstone did on the subject of the Neapolitan prisons and the Bulgarian atrocities. But nowadays, since the eloquent voice of the great master has been hushed in death, even the challenge of the Tripolitan crime awakes no adequate censure from those who sit in the high places of the land. But as there is no longer a Mr. Gladstone amongst us, and the voices even of those who stood nearest to him are muffled by the liveries of office, we must needs be make this like Inkerman, a private soldier's battle, and each man be his own Gladstone. Otherwise one of the greatest outrages upon the moral bonds which hold the nations together will pass without protest and without punishment.

Many States, our own included, have made unprovoked and unwarranted attacks upon the territory of their neighbours. These attacks have been condoned by many specious pleas which impose upon no one but those who hope to profit by the aggression. There is a sufficient resemblance between the Italian attack on Tripoli and our own harrying of the South African Republics to enable Britons to understand the frenzy of conquest which has converted even Nobel prizemen like Signor Moneta into exultant jingoes. But bad as was the Boer war, its criminality pales before the lurid hue of the Italian outrage. The invasion of the Transvaal was, so to speak, a domestic crime. The integrity and independence of the Boer Republics had never been the subject of a solemn international guarantee to which we were parties. The final rupture came at the end of months of negotiation, and was indeed precipitated by a declaration of war from the other side. But notwithstanding these differences in our favour the South African crime entailed a tremendous penalty, a bitter repentance, and ample reparation. In Tripoli the Italian Government suddenly attacked the Turks, without even allowing the twenty-four hours' notice of the ultimatum to expire, an ultimatum in which it was frankly and cynically admitted that the Turks had offered to make all the economic concessions Italy asked for.

The aggressors imagined they would carry everything by a *coup de main*. They had but to make their naval Jameson Raid, and in two or three days the provinces would be theirs. The Italian freebooters, like their South African prototypes, found

the adventure much less easy than they had anticipated. Instead of it being all over in two or three days, the war has been raging for a month and more, and the Italians are beginning to realise that the way of the transgressor is hard. It is devoutly to be hoped that disaster may follow disaster, until the accumulated penalty exacted by unrelenting Nemesis teaches the Italians in the North of Africa, as we were taught in the South of the same Continent, to desist from evil and to learn to do well. In the schoolhouse of the world the cane of the schoolmaster is replaced by the scourge of military defeat and financial bankruptcy. For the sake of the Italians themselves it is well that retribution is following so promptly upon the steps of crime.

Even in the twentieth century honesty may be the best policy, and that it is well to catch your bear before selling his skin. It is hard for them to kick against the pricks. But out of this tribulation may come their salvation. If they repent, and repent in time, they may escape the worst of the retribution that awaits them. Bankruptcy and revolution loom ahead in the near future. The Giolitti Cabinet will certainly go. I hope the monarchy may not go with it. The King, who hates war profoundly, deserves a better fate than to be sacrificed as a victim to the war which his Ministers forced upon the country. But even worse may remain in store. Italian unity was one of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century. If the destruction of Italian unity and the division of the peninsula into two Republics, North and South, is not to mar the record of the twentieth, this war in Tripoli ought to be stopped, and stopped at once.

Already throughout Europe a protest is heard, a protest which will rise ever louder and louder until it reaches the deaf ears of the Downing Streets of the world, and Italy is compelled to disgorge her ill-gotten prey.

Everything depends upon the prompt, energetic individual action of each one of us. I appeal to my countrymen to act promptly in this crisis, and I have confidence that I shall not appeal in vain.

CHAPTER II.

The Public Law of Europe.

"The Treaty of Paris, of 1856," said Mr. Gladstone, "is the public law of Europe." That law was reaffirmed at the Conference of London in 1871, and again re-enacted at the Berlin Congress of 1878.

Great Britain took a leading part in 1856, in 1871, and in 1878 in defining and in defending this public law of Europe. It has been invoked time and again by successive Foreign Ministers of both parties to resist the isolated action of any Power in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. It has been used repeatedly to silence the repeated demands made by the friends of Humanity in this country that something drastic should be done to suppress anarchy in Macedonia or to punish massacre in Armenia.

The doctrine of the European Concert formally embodied in the Treaty of Paris is that each of the great Powers binds itself to abstain from isolated action in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Any intervention must be collective. The Powers constituted themselves a Board of Trustees for the protection of the Sick Man's estate, and bound themselves by a solemn treaty to abstain from any isolated action. That remains to this day the recognised public law of Europe on which the peace and security of the modern State system depends.

To violate the European Concert has always been held to be an act fraught with the most disastrous consequences to the peace of the world. When Mr. Gladstone, in Midlothian, defined the six cardinal principles of a sound foreign policy for the British Empire, "to strive to the uttermost to cultivate and maintain the principle of concert in Europe" occupied the third place. Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery repeatedly referred to the principle of the European Concert as vital to the maintenance of law and the peaceful development of the East. The Treaty of Paris, which enshrines and consecrates that principle, is to-day, as it was in Mr. Gladstone's time, "the public law of Europe." It absolutely forbids any isolated action by any single Power in any part of the Ottoman dominions, it guarantees the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and it expressly prescribes that in case of any dispute arising between any of the signatories and the Ottoman Government, no recourse shall be had to arms until the other signatory Powers have had an opportunity to compose the quarrel by peaceable mediation.

The action of the Italian Government in suddenly launching an expedition to seize Tripoli, which is part and parcel of the Ottoman Empire, without affording any of the other signal

tories of the Treaty of Paris an opportunity to compose the dispute by mediation, was not only a gross breach of treaty faith, it was a deliberate violation of the public law of Europe.

How was it met by the British Government? By protest, by warning, by remonstrance, by a declaration that Great Britain would not tolerate this breach of the public law of Europe?

Lord Granville in 1871, and Lord Salisbury in 1879 had confronted a much mightier Power than Italy, and that in a much more questionable quarrel, with the resolute statement that Great Britain was not prepared to tolerate the trampling under foot of the public law of Europe and the contemptuous tearing up of treaties to which the signature of Great Britain was attached.

But we are living in other days, when the spirit of Gladstone and Salisbury no longer inspires our Foreign Office. The action of our present Government appears to have been limited to issuing a Declaration of Neutrality!

Is this an adequate discharge of the duties and obligations of Great Britain in the present crisis?

That we have a duty need not be argued, because it has not been and cannot be disputed. Great Britain is one of the great Powers of Europe which has taken a leading part in the past—perhaps the leading part—in framing the treaties which embody the public law of Europe with regard to the Ottoman Empire of which Tripoli is an integral part. We have fought in one great war to secure the right to an equal voice in the settlement of all Turkish questions, and we have faced without flinching the possibility of having to wage war single-handed in defence of that right. While we have done this in defence of our own right we have been equally loyal to the treaties in question when they limited and subordinated our rights to the equal rights of the other Powers. Every right carries with it a corresponding duty, and as our rights remain intact so does the obligation to do our duty.

What are our rights and what are our duties in relation to Tripoli?

They are defined by the Treaties of Paris and of Berlin so far as the war affects the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, and they are set forth in the Hague Convention of 1907 so far as they relate to the wide question of international peace. The question is whether our Government is fulfilling the obligations arising out of these treaty rights, or whether the Administration either through inertia, indifference, secret engagements, or dread of responsibility has neglected an admitted duty, betrayed a public trust, and connived at a flagrant violation of the public law of Europe which more than any other Government it was bound to defend.

In 1856, at the close of the Crimean War in which Great Britain and the Italians fought as brothers in arms in vindication

of what they believed to be the rights of collective Europe against the claims of Russia, the Treaty of Paris was signed by six great Powers and Turkey. This seventh and eighth article in this treaty, ever since 1856, has been recognised as the basis of the public law of Europe in relation to the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. It runs as follows :—

Art. 7.—Leurs Majestés . . . déclarent la Sublime Porte admise à participer aux avantages du droit public et du concert européan.

Leurs Majestés s'engagent, chacune de son côté, à respecter l'indépendance et l'intégrite territoriale de l'empire ottoman, garantissent en commun la stricte observation de cet engagement, et considéreraient en conséquence tout acte de nature a y porter atteinte comme une question d'interêt general.

Art. 8.—S'il survenait, entre la Sublime Porte et l'une ou plusieurs des autres puissances signataires, un dissentiment qui menaçât le maintien de leurs relations, la Sublime Porte et chacune de ces puissances, avant de recourir a l'emploi de la force, mettront les autres parties contractantes en mesure de prévenir cette extremité par leur action médiatrice.

Translation :—

Art. 7.—Their Majesties declare the Supreme Porte is admitted to share in the advantages of public law and of the Concert of Europe.

Their Majesties engage, each for his own part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, guaranteeing in common the strict observance of this engagement and consequently will consider every act of a nature endangering it as a question of common interest.

Art. 8.—If a dispute should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signatory Powers which menaces the maintenance of good relations, the Sublime Porte and each of these Powers, before having recourse to the employment of force, will afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of averting this extremity by their mediation.

This was the affirmation in the specific terms of the International Treaty of the renunciation of the rights of any one Power to deal independently with the Porte in matters affecting the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. It affirms specifically that the Powers should only act collectively, and if any one of them should have a dispute with the Porte they should have resort to the mediation of their co-signatories before having resort to arms.

This was the great principle of the European Concert which both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury frequently extolled as our only safety in dealing with the Eastern Question. Hardly a year has passed since then that the principle has not been acted upon more frequently perhaps in preventing action than in sanctioning intervention. But whether negatively used to veto independent action for the protection of the Armenians or

positively to secure the settlement of difficulties in the Lebanon, in Servia, or in Crete, the principle of action by and through the Concert of Europe has never been gainsaid by any responsible Government.

These articles of the Treaty of Paris may be regarded as the Magna Charta of the rights of the Powers and the sheet-anchor of the peace of Europe. Its authority has often proved irksome to Powers whose subjects waxed impatient at the difficulties which it imposed on the effective coercion of the Turks. As the pace of a Yeomanry charge is fixed by the speed of the slowest horse in the troop, so many a time and oft grievous wrongs remained unredressed because of the impossibility of securing unanimity in the governing Powers who constituted this International Trust. But however irksome was the restraint imposed, the disadvantages were recognised as being far outweighed by the guarantee thereby afforded to European peace.

Only once in the half-century which has intervened since the signature of the Treaty of Paris has one of its signatories ventured to question the validity of this sovereign principle of the law of nations. When the Franco-German War was raging, Russia, with the secret assent of Germany, intimated that she no longer intended to be bound by the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. Lord Granville, then Foreign Minister in Mr. Gladstone's Government, at once declared that it was "an essential principle of the law of nations that none of the Powers could liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty or modify the stipulations thereof unless with the consent of the contracting parties by means of an amicable understanding." Russia protested and bluffed, but Lord Granville stood firm. Russia gave in and consented to submit her claims to a Conference of the Powers which met in London in 1871. The first act of that Conference was to sign the following Protocol, which is still in force :—

> The Plenipotentiaries of North Germany, of Austria-Hungary, of Great Britain, of Italy, of Russia, and of Turkey, assembled to-day in conference, recognise that it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement.

This was signed on March 13 by the Chevalier Ch. Cadorna on behalf of Italy ; the other Plenipotentiaries were Count de Bernstorff, Count Apponyi, Earl Granville, Baron de Brunnow, and Musurus Pasha.

This Protocol, it will be observed, strengthens materially the second article. That article expressly binds every signatory to have recourse to the mediation of the co-signatories before having recourse to arms to settle any dispute it might have with the Porte. The Protocol declares it is an essential principle

of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from that obligation without the consent of all its co-signatories.

This severe interpretation of the binding character of this governing principle was accepted by the Power against which it was primarily aimed. When the Eastern Question was reopened in 1875, the collective action of Europe was invoked by the Andrassy Note to settle the insurrection in Bosnia and in Herzegovina. When that Note failed to effect its purpose, the three Emperors drafted the Berlin Memorandum in May, 1876, and presented it to the other Powers for their approval. Mr. Disraeli rejected it, and it was at once abandoned. The results were disastrous. War broke out in the Balkans. Bulgaria was pacified by massacre, and the outraged conscience of Europe compelled the Powers to attempt to restore the Concert. It was restored at the Constantinople Conference; but, the Turks having rejected the recommendations of Europe, the Concert was again reduced to impotence.

Russia then made the cause of the Bulgarians her own. The justice of their claims has been admitted by Europe, but Lord Beaconsfield's refusal to agree to a collective coercion of the Porte left them without redress. But even in this extreme case, when the justice of the *casus belli* was certified by all the Powers, Russia showed so scrupulous a regard to the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Paris, that before declaring war upon the Turks, she sent General Ignatieff round Europe to make one last despairing effort to secure the collective action of the signatory Powers. The result was the Protocol of 1877, which represented the last effort of collective Europe to settle the dispute by friendly mediation. The Turks rejected the Protocol, and the war began, with the approval of some Powers and without the active opposition of any. But even when it broke out, Russia was sharply reminded that no arrangements which she might impose upon the Turks as the result of successful war would be regarded as having any validity unless they secured the sanction of the signatory Powers.

The war ran its course. The Turkish armies in Europe and in Asia were defeated, and the victorious Russians only halted at the gates of Constantinople. Before the Russians imposed their treaty of peace upon the vanquished Turks, although the British Government had declared its neutrality, it did not hesitate to intervene.

On January 14, in view of the reports which had reached her Majesty's Government as to the negotiations for peace which were about to be opened between the Russian Government and the Porte, and in order to avoid any possible misconception, her Majesty's Government instructed Lord A. Loftus to state to Prince Gortschakoff that, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, any treaty concluded between the Government of Russia and the Porte affecting the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 must be a European treaty, and would not be valid

without the assent of the Powers who were parties to those treaties.

With this warning before them the Russians concluded the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano, and sent it round to the other Powers with an intimation that portions of it affecting the general interests of Europe could not be regarded as definitive without general concurrence. But this did not satisfy the British Government. They insisted that every single article of the new treaty must be submitted to the Powers for their approval.

As Russia appeared to hesitate, the British Government beat the war-drum with vigour. The Reserves were called out, the Sepoys were brought from India; six millions were voted for military preparations; the British fleet was ordered to force the Dardanelles and anchor in the Sea of Marmora. Lord Salisbury, on April 1, issued his famous Circular, in which, after citing the Protocol of 1871, he declared in the most categorical fashion :—

> It is impossible for her Majesty's Government, without violating the spirit of this Declaration, to acquiesce in the withdrawal from the cognisance of the Powers of articles in the new treaty which are modifications of existing treaty engagements, and inconsistent with them.

Threatened in Europe and in Asia with war by sea and land, and menaced also by Austria, Russia consented to recognise this extreme interpretation of the Treaty of Paris, and submitted her treaty, lock, stock and barrel, to be revised, mutilated, and transformed by the Congress of Berlin.

At Berlin the representatives of the Powers converted the Treaty of San Stefano into the Treaty of Berlin, and while doing so they expressly re-enacted the articles of the Treaty of Paris which were not affected by the articles in the new treaty. Among these re-enacted and doubly confirmed articles are Seven and Eight, which assert the principle of collective dealing with the Porte, which guarantee the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and which bind each of the contracting Powers to afford the co-signatories an opportunity of mediation before having recourse to force.

Here we have the plain, straightforward story of the public law of Europe as it was made in the first instance, and then emphasized and insisted upon by the British Government. We see how that the essential principle of the law of nations was formulated by a British Government in our own capital and accepted by all the Powers, including Italy. We see how, on the only two occasions on which their authority was threatened British Governments, one Liberal, the other Conservative, instantly asserted their authority and proclaimed their readiness to defend it by arms, with or without allies. In deference to the energetic action of these British Governments, the principle

has been unanimously accepted by all the Governments of Europe. Here, if anywhere, is the traditional policy of Great Britain. Here, if anywhere, we may expect to find applied the principle of continuity which has been proclaimed by successive Administrations of both parties.

We come, therefore, to the examination of the action of our present rulers with no room for uncertainty as to the principles upon which they were expected to act.

The public law of Europe specifically sets forth (1) that no Power having a dispute with the Porte shall have recourse to arms until after it has invoked the friendly mediation of its co-signatories; and (2) that no modification whatever of the existing arrangements of the Ottoman Empire shall be made without the concurrence of all the signatory powers.

How, then, has Sir Edward Grey applied these principles when he was suddenly faced with the intimation that Italy was going to war with the Turks for the purpose of seizing Tripoli?

We are, of course, left in the dark as to the action of the Foreign Office, and we can only infer what has been done or what has been left undone by the evidence of known facts, and the meagre admissions of the Foreign Secretary. What everyone would have expected would have been done if the Foreign Office had been occupied by Lord Palmerston, Lord Granville, or Lord Salisbury would have been a sharp unmistakable public intimation to the Italian Government (1) that her proposed action was a flagrant violation of the public law of Europe (Article 7 & 8) of the Treaty of Paris; and (2) that whatever arrangements she might attempt to carry out by force of arms in Tripoli would have no validity until they had received the concurrence of the signatory Powers. That much, at least, might have been regarded as certain. But Lord Palmerston or even Mr. Gladstone might have gone further and have intimated that if the Italian Government persisted in so high-handed a defiance of the essential principle of the law of nations, Great Britain would be compelled to consider the necessity of intervening to defend the public law of Europe.

That was what might have been done. If even the first stern warning had not been backed up by an unmistakable intimation that Italy might have to reckon with the British fleet, everyone knows the invasion of Tripoli would never have taken place.

But Sir Edward Grey did none of these things. He, the custodian of British honour, the keeper of the great trust which we have inherited from our fathers, does not appear to have uttered one word of protest, of remonstrance, or of warning. Neither does he appear to have offered his services as mediator between Italy and Turkey. For a whole month the nation waited in vain for a single word of information as to what he was doing to protect the public law of Europe from this insolent and defiant assault. When at last on November 2 the long silence

was broken, the following was the information vouchsafed in the House of Commons on November 2 (The quotation is from the *Times* of November 3, p. 15):—

> Mr. Gwynn asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the Italian Government communicated to the British Government its intention of seizing Tripoli; whether the British Government assented to this enterprise or addressed any remonstrance to the Italian Government; and whether he would lay upon the table any communications which had passed between the two Governments referring to the Italian expedition to Tripoli.
>
> Sir E. Grey.—The first communication of any intention to seize Tripoli which his Majesty's Government received was the notification of the Declaration of War on September 30. We at once expressed the intention of issuing a declaration of neutrality. As stated last Thursday, I am not prepared to lay papers at the present time.

Shades of Palmerston, Gladstone and Salisbury! Only that and nothing more!

But worse was to follow. On November the Italian Government issued a fantastic proclamation declaring that the provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, in which it held possession of half a dozen coast towns, were irrevocably annexed to the Kingdom of Italy.

From the point of view of international law this annexation was as null and void as from the point of view of the actual facts it was grotesquely absurd. The Turkish Government at once issued their protest against it.

Unless our traditional policy was thrown to the winds and the principle of continuity abandoned, we had a right to expect from the British Foreign Secretary the very next day a declaration couched in the spirit, if not in the actual words, of his predecessors to the effect that the status of the African provinces of the Ottoman Empire is by the Treaties of Paris and Berlin a matter which must be dealt with by the signatories of those treaties acting in concert, and that until their consent was duly had and obtained any alleged or attempted alteration of the *status quo* in Tripoli was *ipso facto* null and void.

This declaration was imperatively demanded from the Government as a defender of the public law of Europe, and it could only be regarded as "offensive" by Italy if that Government persisted in trampling treaties and conventions under foot. In that case it would undoubtedly be "offensive," but only to the offender who was placing himself outside the comity of civilised nations of the world.

No such declaration was forthcoming. Emboldened by the silence of Europe, the Italians waxed more insolent, and threatened in their papers to carry the war into other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

On November 9, Sir Edward Grey was questioned upon the subject by Mr. Dillon.

Mr. Dillon asked whether the Italian Government had communicated to the British Government a proclamation announcing the annexation of Tripoli to Italy; what effect such proclamation was interpreted by the Italian Government to have on the status of the inhabitants of Tripoli, who continue to resist the Italian troops; whether the British Government had recognised or assented to this proclamation; and whether the British Government would address to the Italian Government a remonstrance against any penal measures against the people of Tripoli based on this proclamation?

Sir E. Grey: The answer to the first question is in the affirmative. I cannot answer the second question because I do not know. The answer to the third question, whether we recognise or assent to the proclamation, is in the negative. The answer to the last part of the question is also in the negative. To give any other answer would mean intervention in the war between Italy and Turkey.

Mr. Dillon: Is it not a fact that the issue of such a proclamation involves the treating of all who resist the advance of Italian troops as rebels?

Sir E. Grey: I cannot say what the interpretation of the Italian Government will be as to the effect of the proclamation. The proclamation has been communicated to us, as also has the protest of the Turkish Government against it. This seems to me to be one of those things about which we can say nothing whilst hostilities are proceeding.

Contrast this astounding statement with the action of the British Government in 1878, when Russia was at war with Turkey. We had declared our neutrality then as now. But without waiting for any violation of the Treaty of Paris, on the mere expectation that Russia would propose to modify the *status quo*, Lord Salisbury deemed it necessary to notify Russia in good round terms that she could not alter one article of the Treaty of Paris without the consent of its other signatories. But Sir Edward Grey, confronted with the flagrantly illegal proclamation of the Italian Government, can only say that he has neither recognised it nor assented to it, and for this reason:—

> "This" (the proclamation that Italy has dismembered the Empire whose integrity she guaranteed, and annexed provinces which had hitherto belonged to the Turks) "seems to me to be one of those things about which we can say nothing while hostilities are proceeding."

Not so did Lord Salisbury interpret the duty of a British Foreign Minister.

CHAPTER III.

Under the Hague Convention.

In 1899 and in 1907, the Governments of the world, met in Conference at the Hague for the purpose of extending the Empire of law and of strengthening the sentiment of universal justice, agreed to exercise their good offices in case of serious dispute arising between any two Powers with the object of reconciling the opposing claims and of appeasing feelings of resentment. For the attainment of these excellent ends the Powers drew up conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the forty-three Powers which divide between them the government of the human race. This Convention, in the framing of which Great Britain, Italy and Turkey alike took part, states in its preamble that the Governments represented at the Conference :—

Animated by the sincere desire to work for the maintenance of general peace ;

Resolved to promote by all the efforts in their power the friendly settlement of international disputes ;

Recognising the solidarity uniting the members of the society of civilised nations ;

Desirous of extending the empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of universal peace ;

Convinced that the permanent institution of a Tribunal of Arbitration accessible to all, in the midst of independent Powers, will contribute effectively to this result ;

Having regard to the advantages attending the general and regular organisation of the procedure of arbitration ;

Sharing the opinion of the august initiator of the International Peace Conference that it is expedient to record in our international agreements the principles of equity and right on which are based the security of States and the welfare of the peoples ;

Being desirous with this object of ensuring the better working in practice of commissions of inquiry and tribunals of arbitration and of facilitating recourse to arbitration in cases which allow of a summary procedure ;

Have deemed it necessary to revise in certain particulars and to complete the work of the First Peace Conference for the pacific settlement of international disputes ;

The high contracting parties have resolved to conclude a new convention for this purpose, have appointed their plenipotentiaries, who have agreed upon the following——

The Convention then sets forth the following summarised articles for the maintenance of the general peace :—

Art. I.—The contracting parties agree to use their best efforts to ensure the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Art. II.—Before an appeal to arms the contracting Powers agree to have recourse to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

Art. III.—The contracting Powers deem it expedient and desirable that one or more Powers, strangers to the dispute, should on their own initiative offer their good offices or mediation to the States at variance even during the course of hostilities.

Art. VIII.—The contracting Powers are agreed in recommending the application of special mediation in which the conduct of negotiations is vested in a special mediator chosen by each party.

Art. IX.—The contracting Powers deem it expedient and desirable that in case of disputes not settled by diplomacy the disputants should institute an international commission of inquiry to facilitate a solution of these disputes by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation.

Art. XXXVII.—International arbitration has for its object the settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law.

Art. XXXVIII.—In questions of a legal nature and especially in the interpretation or application of international conventions, arbitration is recognised by the contracting Powers as the most affective and at the same time the most equitable means of settling disputes which diplomacy has failed to settle.

Art. XXXIX.—The arbitration convention may embrace any dispute.

Art. XLII.—The permanent Court is competent for all arbitration cases.

Art. XLIII.—The permanent Court sits at the Hague. An International Bureau serves as a registry for the Court. It is the channel for communications relative to the meetings of the Court. It has charge of the archives and conducts all administrative business.

Art. XLVIII.—In case of conflict between two Powers, one of them can always address to the International Bureau a note containing a declaration that it would be ready to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Bureau must at once inform the other Power of the declaration.

Almost all these Articles are crippled and limited by such clauses as " so far as circumstances permit " or " in cases involving neither honour nor vital interests," limitations which in the case of the International Commissions of Inquiry were insisted upon by the British delegates, acting under the special instructions of Sir Edward Grey.

Now, it will be noticed that the contracting Powers, which in all cases include Great Britain and Italy, agree to do a great number of things for the avoidance of war.

Has one of the contracting Powers done any of these things to avert the outbreak of the present war in Tripoli ?

It is true that Turkey alone seems to have remembered the existence of the Hague Convention. She appealed for mediation. But, as in the Gospel, she asked for bread and she was given a stone.

It may be contended that nations have short memories, and that the Italian Government of 1911 had forgotten the recommendations and the pledges which its predecessor had signed in 1907.

But this contingency had been foreseen at The Hague. Lest any of them might forget, so impressed were they with the importance of the work they had accomplished that they unanimously declared it was their "duty" (*devoir*) to bring it before the attention of any Powers whose dispute endangered peace. The text of this momentous declaration (Art. 27 of 1899, 48 of 1907) is as follows :—

> The signatory Powers consider it their duty, if a serious dispute threaten to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the Permanent Court is open to them. Consequently they declare that the fact of reminding the conflicting parties of the provisions of the present Convention and the advice given to them in the highest interests of peace to have recourse to the Permanent Court can only be regarded as friendly actions.

This declaration of the recognition of a solemn duty was signed by the representatives of Great Britain among those of the other forty-two Powers.

It would, perhaps, be too much to expect that Montenegro or Costa Rica, both of whom recognised this duty at The Hague, would discharge it when a serious dispute threatened to break out between Italy and Turkey. It might be admitted that Austria and Germany, being the allies of Italy, might be absolved from their duty owing to the delicacy of their relations to the Italian Government. France also is accused of being an accomplice before the fact, thanks to a secret treaty negotiated by M. Delcassé. So that of all the great Powers Russia and England alone were free to do their duty.

But neither of them appears to have stirred hand or foot to remind the disputants "that the Permanent Court is open to them," and that the provisions of the Pacific Convention recommend, with the authority of the disputants themselves, many methods of composing their quarrel. We may leave Russia out of account. We are not responsible for the Russian Government. We are responsible for our own.

What has the British Foreign Secretary done to fulfil the duty which in 1907 he undertook to perform ?

The answer, and the only answer that so far has been forthcoming, is that the duty has not been fulfilled, and instead of fulfilling the duty which he was bound to perform, the British Foreign Secretary issued a proclamation of neutrality—only that, and nothing more !

Strange and incredible though this may seem, what other conclusion can be arrived at from the following question and answer in the House of Commons, November 2, which followed immediately upon Sir E. Grey's answer to Mr. Gwynn in which he stated that he had issued a declaration of neutrality on hearing the news of Italy's declaration of war ?

> Mr. D. Mason (Coventry, Min.).—Would the right hon. gentleman explain to the House how that is consistent with the treaty obligations that this country entered into at The Hague ?
>
> Sir E. Grey.—We received notification of a state of war. We expressed our intention of issuing a declaration of neutrality. There is nothing in that, so far as I am aware, contrary to any treaty obligation.

The treaty obligation into which Great Britain had entered at The Hague was to remind disputants of the existence of the Permanent Court, and that it is open to them. To say that there is nothing in the declaration of neutrality contrary to treaty obligations is to say what is beside the mark, and confuses the issue.

The only excuse that can be made for the failure of the signatory Powers to recall the attention of Italy and Turkey to the existence of the Hague Convention is that the attack of Italy was so sudden and unexpected that a state of war had arisen before the duty could have been performed. To this there are two replies: first, that the last clause of Article 48, added in 1907, expressly states that disputing Powers can *always* notify the Bureau International of The Hague that they are willing to submit their case to arbitration, so that the duty recognised from the earlier clause of the article did not necessarily cease and determine when the guns began to speak. Secondly, that if the conduct of Italy had been so precipitate as to throw out of gear all the peace-making machinery so elaborately provided at The Hague for the composing of international disputes, her action in itself suggested criminality, and called for the sternest rebuke from all her fellow-signatories. If Italy's sudden swoop like a vulture on her prey rendered impossible the discharge of a duty assumed by Great Britain in the Hague Convention, that circumstance alone would have afforded adequate occasion for the

gravest remonstrance. The fact that the garrotter attacked his victim before he had time to call for the police is not usually regarded as justifying a refusal on the part of the police to arrest the garrotter when he is caught red-handed in the act. It aggravates rather than extenuates the guilt of the garrotter. It increases instead of diminishes the vigilance of the police.

But in this grave international crisis, when the Italian Government has done none of the things which it undertook to do; when it deliberately precipitated a war in order to avoid all offers of good offices, mediation, special mediation or arbitration; when it tore up the Treaty of Paris and trampled the Hague Convention under its feet, the British Foreign Office, confronted with this alarming situation, in which an international act of brigandage threatened to reduce Europe to international anarchy, conceives that it has fulfilled the sum of its duty to Britain and to civilisation by—issuing a proclamation of neutrality!

But this was not all. After the Italian Government had proclaimed the annexation of the two provinces, another opportunity arose on November 7.

"Italian official quarters," says a Reuter's telegram from Milan, "do not conceal their opinion that the annexation of Tripoli must be considered as a second ultimatum. If Turkey does not give in, the fleet will be ordered to attack Turkey at one of her vital points."

There is every reason to believe that this statement is well-founded, and that Europe is now face to face with what will be to all intents and purposes a new war, far more dangerous to the general interests than the localised war in Tripoli.

When the British proclamation of neutrality was issued, it was accompanied by the publication by the Italian Embassy in the English papers of the following official announcement:—

> Italy has not the remotest intention of landing troops in any part of the Ottoman Empire except in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. A categorical denial in advance is given to any similar report that may come to hand later.
>
> The operations which the Italian Navy is compelled to carry out in European waters are exclusively directed towards protecting Italian coasts, Italian open towns, the military expedition to Tripoli, and Italian merchant ships in the Adriatic and Ionian seas from contemplated Turkish raids.

It was to such a war so strictly limited and confined to the two African provinces that our declaration of neutrality applied.

The question to be asked is whether, now that Italy has threatened to extend the application of force to regions lying far outside the African provinces, the signatory Powers will now remember their obligations under the Treaty of Paris, and insist that Italy shall fulfil her solemn obligation

before having recourse to the employment of force to afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of averting this extremity by their mediation.

This is not to press mediation upon Italy. It is to inform Italy that her new war, with its employment of force outside Tripoli, will not be permitted by Great Britain—with or without allies—until Italy has fulfilled her treaty obligations to afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of averting this extremity by their mediation. This is to compel Italy to sue for that mediation which she has hitherto defiantly rejected.

An opportunity might at the same time have been taken to inform the Italian Government that her annexation of Tripoli is invalid without the consent of all the signatory Powers.

Sir Edward Grey had here a second chance of showing himself a worthy successor of Lord Granville and Lord Salisbury. Such chances seldom recur. But nothing was done.

CHAPTER IV.

Why Mediation has Failed.

Mediation has failed because, instead of compelling Italy to obey the public law of Europe and appeal for mediation before having recourse to arms, the Powers allowed her to go to war without mediation. After Italy had gone to war, she flouted their appeal for mediation. It was Italy who ought to have asked for mediation, not Europe that should ask for permission to mediate. Mediation is undoubtedly a very good thing. But mediation has failed because the Italian Government has from first to last refused to listen to any proposals to mediate which do not start from the recognition of her right to annex Tripoli. The Italian Government broke the public law of Europe by appealing to force before giving her co-signatories an opportunity of mediating. The Italian Government broke the public law of Europe by annexing two provinces of the Ottoman Empire the integrity of whose territories it had guaranteed. The Italian Government with this twofold breach of the public law of Europe on its hands, refuses to mediate except on the basis of allowing her to keep the plunder she has lawlessly acquired.

Mediation is a good thing, but what is the use of harping on about mediation when the Italian Government tells us with plain, downright brutality that the first condition of its assent to mediation is that it must be allowed not only to occupy and administer Tripoli as we occupy and administer Egypt, but must be allowed to turn out the Turks bag and baggage, and to deprive the Sultan once for all of his sovereignty or his suzerainty over his African provinces?

The conduct of the Turkish Government on the subject of mediation has been irreproachable. They appealed for mediation the moment they were threatened with war. They had a right to mediation under the Eighth Article of the Treaty of Paris, but they appealed to deaf ears. The Sultan appealed personally to the Kaiser and the King of England to mediate, but he was told they could do nothing. The King of England replied by expressing his regret that he could not intervene. The Kaiser was more cordial, but his response came practically to the same thing.

The Emperor, after expressing feelings of dear friendship and veneration for the Sultan, says that in the interests of humanity he had instructed the Ambassador to make an effort to intervene, but isolated action by Germany unsupported by the other Powers would be without effect.

However, in deference to the wishes of his Majesty, he

(the Emperor) would make another proposal for mediation, and, at the same time, submit a similar suggestion to the other Powers.

Baron Marschall von Bieberstein afterwards went to the Porte and had a lengthy conversation with the Grand Vizier, repeating the communication made by the Emperor, but explaining that it was most unlikely that it would lead to any result.

The Turks appealed again for mediation when the Italian Government despatched its ultimatum, and again they appealed in vain. They made their last despairing appeal to the Powers on October after the war had broken out. The following is the text of their last appeal :—

> The Government has informed the Great Powers of the conditions in which it suddenly found itself in the presence of a declaration of war by Italy, in spite of the fact that the Italian ultimatum had been met before the expiration of the prescribed delay with a clearly conciliatory reply, containing all the elements of an immediate settlement. Contrary to all international rules, this declaration of war was preceded by hostilities on the part of Italian ships.
>
> For this reason the Ottoman Government, with *de jure* and *de facto*, has a right to employ against Italy, not only measures automatically arising out of a state of war, but also any measure which the present situation may permit it to decree.
>
> Notwithstanding this right, the Government has postponed such measures, while making a fresh appeal to the Great Powers, in the conviction that it is still possible to put an end to the war. The Government is thus striving to stem the enthusiasm of the Ottoman people, wounded in its most sacred feelings, and in the name of civilisation, justice, and equity, it hopes that the Great Powers will respond to its appeal.

What was the response of the Powers ? In brief, it was this : We can only mediate on condition you give up Tripoli to the Italians. The semi-official statement supplied to Reuter's correspondent in Constantinople runs thus :—

> The replies to the Porte's appeal have now been received from most of the Powers, but as expected, they afford but little satisfaction. The effect of the replies is that the Powers are unable to offer mediation until the Porte suggests a basis on the lines of the Italian demands as set forth in the Italian ultimatum.

From that attitude the Powers do not seem to have budged from that day to this.

On November 8, Mr. Acland, in reply to Mr. Silvester Horne, said, with reference to the Turco-Italian war, that the Government would not deem themselves precluded by the recent pro-

clamation of neutrality from offering their good offices or mediation if any favourable result was likely to be brought about by their doing so. They have been, and are always, he said, anxious to take advantage, in conjunction with the other Powers, of any opportunity which may present itself for offering their good offices or mediation to the States at variance. But the views of the belligerents on the matter in dispute are so divergent that no basis exists on which a neutral Power could, at present, offer mediation that would not be refused or even resented by one or other of the belligerents.

Nor is there any likelihood that they will depart so long as the public opinion of Europe and America allows them to continue as silent but potent accomplices of the Italian crime. To those who continue to meet the demand for a vindication of the public law of Europe and for a settlement of the whole question by a High Court of Arbitral Justice by plaintive appeals for mediation, I venture to address one straightforward question. Mediation is only possible on one basis, viz., the recognition by the mediators of the right of the Italian Government to two Turkish provinces. Are you prepared to recognise that right? If you are, you are accessories after the fact, aiding and abetting an international burglar to obtain a legal title to the stolen goods. If you are not prepared to help Italy to Tripoli, how can you mediate?

The Italian Government has now been at war for nearly a month, and we have hardly wakened up to the fact that we are at war.

I say we, because the Italian ultimatum heralded an attack, not on Tripoli only, but on you and me, on treaty faith, on the rights of nations, on the hope of progress and the safeguards of civilisation.

What are we going to do about it?

One thing is certain, whatever else is doubtful. The Governments will do nothing to help us as things are. They may, however, be roused to a sense of their duty by an appeal to the peoples, who in the long run are the masters of the Governments.

Left to themselves, the Governments will compromise and temporise, fumble and bungle; in short, they will do nothing and everything but their duty.

Meanwhile, not merely is the Ottoman Empire slowly bleeding to death, but the forces hostile to civilisation and to the great laws which bind nations into one community, are entrenching themselves in an impregnable position.

The time has surely come to rouse into action the popular forces which as yet are only dimly conscious of the significance of the blow which the Italian Government has dealt against them.

The Governments will do nothing more than proffer their mediation, exchange their views, make representations solely

with a view to arranging some compromise by which the robber may be allowed to carry off his booty. That in plain English is what mediation means.

If the Ottoman peoples are content to see Tripoli handed over to the Italian Government, then they will do well to sit still, and wait till the resources of diplomacy have discovered some means of rendering acceptable the results of brigandage.

As, on the contrary, they are not content to submit to this dismemberment of their Empire, they have come to the conclusion that they should resort to some more effective means of resistance than plaintive appeals to Foreign Offices whose occupants have only one thought, that is to persuade the Ottomans to abandon Tripoli.

Mediation of this one-sided kind has been going on for a month. It will go on for another month, and a great triumph will be claimed by the mediators if after two months' mediating they succeed in severing Tripoli from the living body of the Ottoman Empire, and in handing it over, coast-line and hinterland, Ottomans and Arabs, to the Italian Government. For the only god of diplomacy is the *Fait Accompli*, and the object of all mediation is to make all Ottomans bow down and worship that. All the old gods are dethroned. On the ruins of the temples which mankind once erected to the great ideals of Justice, Right and Public Law, the mediators have set up this bloody and savage false god, the *Fait Accompli*.

For my own part, I protest against the assumption that when one Government commits a crime all the other Governments are bound to endeavour to induce the victim of that crime to sit still and say nothing about it. That is not the way in which civilisation can be defended. It makes mediators accomplices of the criminal.

What the people want is not mediation but justice. What the Governments ought to have done was to have restrained the Italians from violating the public law of Europe. They have failed in their duty. Some of them are even believed to have been accomplices in the crime, having encouraged by secret treaty the perpetration of this outrage. But one and all have failed to discharge the duty they recognised in the Hague Convention and to defend the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris.

What, then, must be done ?

That is a question almost as pressing for the nations of Europe as for the Ottoman people. For if the action of the Italian Government is acquiesced in, then we are face to face with an era of international anarchy in which no frontier is safe, no nation is secure ; in which might is the only right, and the conscience of mankind fails even to protest against the most cynical violation of treaty faith. E.D.

Are solemn international treaties to be torn up like waste paper ? Is no attempt to be made to secure a settlement of

international disputes save by methods of slaughter? These two questions will be answered in the negative if nothing is done to check the steady progress of international anarchy. We stand at the parting of the ways. If the action of Italy is to be condoned by the peoples as well as by the Governments, then the fair prospect which shone before the eyes of mankind at the opening of the Hague Convention is blotted out with a black cloud. Instead of progressing towards the establishment of an international world-State in which justice is administered by an impartial tribunal, mankind will be thrown back into the bloody welter of predatory war.

From the brigandage of the Italian Government and from the criminal connivance of the mediating Powers an appeal must be made to the peoples of the world. They are at present ill-informed concerning what has happened, they are preoccupied with their own affairs and but half awake to the enormity of the crime that has been committed in Tripoli.

They must be informed as to the facts, they must be roused to attention, they must be summoned to the defence of the right.

The task is difficult. But it is not impossible. The conscience of mankind may sleep. It is not extinct. Deep in the human heart lies latent a belief in justice to which it is possible to appeal.

Let us make that appeal, and make it now, without wasting another day in waiting for the results of mediation, which simply is another way of spelling annexation.

CHAPTER V.

Why Appeal to Arbitration?

The appeals of the Sublime Porte to the Powers have so far produced an offer of mediation on the basis of annexation. The Turks can go on making these appeals, and they can go on with their mediating; but the time has come when the Ottoman people must supplement the appeals for mediation by a demand for justice. This demand must be made, not to the diplomacy, but to the democracy of the world. It must be made in broad and simple terms which the man in the street and the peasant at the plough can understand. The case is simple enough.

The Italian Government has picked a quarrel with the Turk in order to pick his pocket. The Italian Government, having seized Tripoli, wishes to keep it. Against this the Ottoman people protest in the name of justice and right.

But they can do more than protest. They can make known to the peoples of the world that they are ready to prove the justice of their case before an impartial Court. The popular formula is, "We are willing to submit the whole case to arbitration and to abide by the decision of the judge."

In the present case what is needed is not so much a tribunal of arbitration as a criminal court. But a criminal court for international malefactors does not exist, whereas there is a Hague Tribunal for Arbitration.

It is true that this tribunal has not the authority to summon any law-breaking Powers to come up for judgment. But that is no reason why the Ottoman Government should not notify the International Bureau at The Hague that it is willing to submit its case to arbitration, leaving to the Italian Government the onus of refusing to allow an impartial tribunal to pronounce upon the justice of its case.

The object of the Hague Conference was to constitute "a Tribunal of Arbitration accessible to all." If the Turks are denied access to this tribunal by the refusal of the Italian Government to assist in its creation a no more effective object lesson can be afforded to the world of the necessity for supplementing the voluntary tribunal by a real High Court of Justice among the nations than by the spectacle of a great Power pleading, and pleading in vain, for an opportunity to prove the justice of its case, because its assailant refuses to plead?

What is called the Tribunal of The Hague is a list of eminent juris-consults nominated by all the Governments of the world, all of whom are ready when called upon to sit as arbitrators. But before they can be so called upon the two Powers in dispute must agree voluntarily to submit their differences to a court constituted by judges of their own selection, who are strictly

confined in their jurisdiction by the compromise or statement of the case in dispute drawn up by the disputing Powers. If either of the disputants chooses to declare that any point in the controversy touches their honour or their vital interests they can withdraw that point from the court. Hence the Hague Tribunal has only been invoked for the settlement of minor questions which Governments are very well content to get out of the way. It has never been employed to settle matters of life and death touching the integrity or the independence of disputing nations.

Its inadequacy was recognised by the last Hague Conference, which spent much of its time in attempting to establish a real High Court of Arbitral Justice which should be permanently in session at The Hague. The attempt fell through owing to the difficulty of apportioning judges between the great and the small Powers. But a great advance was made towards agreement, as the following extract from the *acte finale* of the Conference of 1907 shows :—

> It is unanimous—
>
> 1. In admitting the principle of obligatory arbitration.
>
> 2. In declaring that certain disputes, in particular those relating to the interpretation and application of the provisions of international agreements, may be submitted to compulsory arbitration without any restriction.
>
> Finally, it is unanimous in proclaiming that, although it has not yet been found feasible to conclude a convention in this sense, nevertheless the divergences of opinion which have come to light have not exceeded the bounds of judicial controversy.

To this "opinion" the Conference added as an annex a Draft Convention relative to the creation of a Court of Arbitral Justice, which proves that there was a unanimous agreement as to the importance of constituting such a Court, and that the only point upon agreement broke down was as to the selection of the judges. Otherwise, the Convention supplies a complete scheme for creating the Court and lays down its procedure with the utmost particularity of detail.

The first Articles run as follows :—

> 1. With a view to promoting the cause of arbitration, the contracting Powers agree to constitute without altering the status of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, a Court of Arbitral Justice of free and easy access, composed of judges representing the various juridical systems of the world, and capable of securing continuity in arbitral jurisprudence
>
> 2. The Court of Arbitral Justice is composed of judges and deputy judges chosen from persons of the highest moral reputation and all fulfilling conditions qualifying them in their respective countries to occupy high legal posts or be jurists of recognised competence in matters of international law.

These judges were to be appointed for a term of twelve years and were to be eligible for re-election. They were to rank in order of seniority, and were to enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. Out of their whole number they must annually elect three judges to act as special delegation, which would sit permanently all the year round at the Hague. The delegation might by agreement act as the Court, it might settle the compromis, but each of the disputants had a right to nominate a judge of the Court to take part in the proceedings. The judges were to receive a salary of about £800 a year, but when they were employed they were to be paid an extra allowance—eight pounds a day and their travelling expenses. The full Court was to meet once every year in June, unless the delegation decided that it is unnecessary; but, on the other hand, the delegation could summon a special Court when it deems it necessary.

This Court of Arbitral Justice was to have power to adjudicate in all cases which came within special or general treaties of obligatory arbitration, or any other cases in which both disputants agreed to invoke its intervention.

The Court did not come into existence because of the impossibility of reconciling the claims of the small Powers, led by Brazil, to be represented on the Bench by an equal number of judges to those representing the great Powers. Germany led the opposition of the great Powers, and between the two groups the Conference had to adjourn the consideration of the question to the Governments.

Russia proposed as a way out of the difficulty that without making any distinction between great and small Powers, each continent should nominate seven judges, there being less rivalry between continents than between nations. Mr. Secretary Knox announced this year that such progress has been made in solving the knotty question of the distribution of the judges that he had every hope the Court of Arbitral Justice would be constituted before the meeting of the next Hague Conference.

The range of the jurisdiction of the Court would, of course, depend upon the extent to which the Powers formally or severally had entered into treaties of obligatory arbitration. At present, with few exceptions, they all exclude questions of honour and vital interests; and it was because he wished to include these questions President Taft proposed to include in the new Arbitration Treaties even those questions which are usually excluded. Of course, in the end the High Court of Arbitral Justice will have to have jurisdiction over all disputes, but that is not yet.

Italy at both the first and second Conferences professed great pride in being the foremost Power in the world in championing the principle of obligatory arbitration. In the first Hague Conference, Count Nigra proposed to amend the Russian proposals for arbitration by enacting—

1. In case of an imminent conflict between two or more Powers before the failure of every attempt at conciliation, by means of indirect negotiations, the Powers in dispute are obliged (*sont obligées*) to have recourse to mediation or to arbitration in the cases indicated in the present Act.

Another Article declares that arbitration might be proposed not merely when mediation had not been offered, but also when it has been tried and had failed in effecting a settlement. His last proposition was to declare that recourse to mediation or arbitration was obligatory in certain specified cases.

In the second Conference Count Tornielli took special credit to Italy as being the standard-bearer of international arbitration throughout the world. Italy also has quite recently concluded four General Treaties of Arbitration besides the Treaty with Argentina, which was signed in the Ritterzaal while the second Conference was in session.

Public opinion is obviously ripening in the direction of a compulsory International Court of Justice. It is obvious that nothing could do more to educate public opinion as to the need of such a Court than the spectacle of a great Power actually suffering from invasion demanding and demanding in vain that its adversary should afford it an opportunity of demonstrating the baselessness of the charges by which it sought to justify the war. Nothing could more conclusively prove the inadequacy of the present voluntary system than this evidence that the door of the Temple of Justice can be barred by the Power that has broken the law.

But in a broad popular appeal to the conscience of the nations these juristic difficulties do not arise.

What is wanted is a declaration in a clear unmistakable popular formula that the Ottomans desire to settle this dispute, whatever it may involve, by arbitration and not by war. This declaration can be made under Article 48 of the Hague Convention by the simple process of addressing a note to the International Bureau of the Hague, stating that the Ottoman Government is willing to submit the whole question in dispute between it and the Italian Government to arbitration. The clause is as follows :—

> In case of dispute between two Powers one of them can always address to the International Bureau a note containing a declaration that it would be ready to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Bureau must at once inform the other Power of the declaration.

The advantage of making this declaration in this form lies in the fact that it would be immediately understood by every nation as a direct challenge to Italy to settle the dispute by an appeal to a tribunal where truth, law and justice are supreme.

The Note need not assume that mediation has failed; all that is necessary is to notify the Bureau that the Ottoman

Government is willing, when the right time arises, to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Government can then go on with its mediation till Christmas or the Greek kalends.

The questions in dispute are capable of being simply stated. They are :—

I. Have treaties, especially the treaties of 1856 and 1878, any value, or may they be treated as waste paper ?

Turkey answers, Yes. Italy answers, No.

Which is right ?

II. Have the Hague Conventions any value or are the Powers bound to act upon their recommendations ?

Turkey answers, Yes. Italy answers, No.

Which is right ?

III. Has the Italian Government any legitimate grievance against the Ottoman Government in the administration of Tripoli which the latter refused to remedy ?

Turkey answers, No. Italy answers, Yes.

Which is right ?

IV. Has any Power, even if she has grievances, any right on that ground to declare war at twenty-four hours' notice, without affording any opportunity of removing these grievances, and then to seize territory in defiance of treaty rights ?

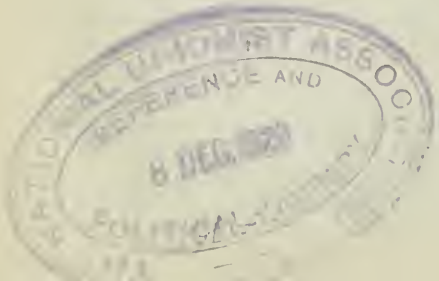
Italy answers, Yes. Turkey answers, No.

Which is right ?

These are roughly the four questions in dispute. The two first and the fourth concern all the peoples of Europe as well as the Ottomans. The third is a question of fact which could be easily cleared up by an International Commission d'Enquête. Why should not all these questions be settled by a High Court of the nations ?

It is true that no such High Court is actually in existence. But the Hague Bureau offers at least a formal opportunity for the Ottomans to declare their readiness to settle the whole dispute by an appeal to a judicial tribunal.

It is only a form, but it is useful because it puts Turkey in the right before the nations. If the dispute were really to be sent for judicial settlement, a very different court of nations would have to be created to that contemplated by the Hague Convention.



CHAPTER VI.

The Ottoman Appeal to Europe.

The following telegram sent to *The Daily News*, October 27, explains the attitude of the Ottoman people on the subject of Arbitration :—

"Constantinople, *October* 27, 1911.

"I have succeeded beyond my utmost hopes. A fortnight ago arbitration was never mentioned ; to-day it is universally demanded. The Grand Vizier, speaking for the Sultan and the Cabinet, gives his public endorsement to the arbitration campaign that is now about to be undertaken throughout Europe. The Turks are not satisfied with merely appealing to the Hague Tribunal, which is rendered powerless by Italy's refusal to arbitrate ; they demand the creation of a permanent High Court with obligatory arbitration. They offer to submit the whole dispute to such a High Court, and this week the most influential deputation ever dispatched abroad by Turkey will begin its pilgrimage of propaganda and appeal for obligatory arbitration through Europe.

"The initiative has been left to the Turkish Inter-Parliamentary group because the Government is hampered by the negotiations for mediation, but the Government warmly support the action that has been taken. The deputation, selected by the Parliamentary group, consists of six Senators and Deputies, representing the Turks, Arabs, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews of the Empire. [The number has now been raised to nine, and a Bulgarian has been added.] Its Vice-President is Prince Ferid Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law. The deputation contains members of all the parties. Boustani Effendi, Deputy for Beyrout, Talaat Bey (former Minister of the Interior), or Djahid Bey (editor of the *Tanin*), Mavrocordato Effendi (former Minister of Agriculture), and Nouradonghian Effendi (formerly Minister of Public Works), and the other members will probably start on Saturday for Bucharest, where they will add to their number a Roumanian Deputy. Thence they proceed to Budapesth, and there will add Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Servian Deputies ; thence to Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, The Hague, Brussels, Berne, Paris, and London. The deputation will then number twenty, representing fifteen States in all, and making a demonstration all along the route in favour of obligatory arbitration.

"The scheme has already been assured of the approval of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, and has been promised by the Ambassadors a warm welcome in Germany, Russia, and England. The journey will last over thirty days. The effect will be cumulative ; everywhere an appeal will be made to the peoples.

"Their commission would be one of protest, of discovery, and of appeal. They go to protest not against Italy as Italy, but against the cynical violation of treaties. They go to discover how far the nations of Europe have deserted their ancient faith in the sanctity of the pledged word, and whether there still lingers in any quarter the aspiration to supersede war by International Arbitration. If they should find in the various Inter-Parliamentary groups, in the Parliaments and in the people at large any regard for treaties and any faith in arbitration, they will appeal to their friends to co-operate with them in bringing the utmost pressure to bear upon their Governments to compel Italy to submit her claims to the judgment of an impartial Court. If it should be objected that, on the facts as they stand, the proper place for the Italian Government is in the dock in which justice places those caught red-handed in the commission of crime, the Ottoman Delegation will gladly assist in constituting such a High Court in which the Italian Government could be tried for its crimes against the comity of nations. They only say, 'To the Hague!' because at the Hague is the nearest approach to an International High Court at present in existence.

"The route by Bucharest will be taken because of the quarantine imposed by Bulgaria upon travellers from Constantinople Belgrade and Sofia could be visited on the return journey. Delegates from the Bulgarian and Servian Parliaments could meet the Delegation at Buda Pesth."

The following is an outline of the probable course of proceedings. On arriving at any capital the Delegation will be met by the members of the local Inter-Parliamentary group and conducted to their hotel. They will discuss together what means can be taken to bring the question of substituting arbitration for war before the attention of the Government and the public. The means which will be adopted will most probably be the following :—

1. Each delegate will pay his respects to the local representative of his own Government and endeavour to enlist his sympathy and support.

2. The Delegation will endeavour to secure through the agency of the local group : (*a*) The placarding in conspicuous places throughout the country of the Ottoman Appeal to the Nations ; and (*b*) the despatch by post of appeals to every person in a representative or influential position in the country, asking them to append their names to the international demand for arbitration.

3. The Delegation will then address one or more public meetings, at which resolutions will be submitted demanding that the dispute now inflamed by war should be submitted to a Court of Arbitral Justice for settlement, and calling upon the local Government to use its influence to support that demand.

4. After the meeting the local Parliamentary group will introduce the Delegation as a deputation to the Foreign Minister, to whom they will state their case, present the resolutions passed at the public meeting and appeal for his support.

5. The local Parliamentary group will be asked to nominate one of their members to accompany the Delegation on its progress through other capitals, so that when it reaches London the original nucleus of Ottomans will be surrounded by twice their number of delegates from other nations, all united in presenting the same request.

6. There will also be an interchange of hospitalities, interviews with the Press, and all the usual subsidiary means of rousing public attention and educating public opinion.

It is evident that if this programme or even one-half of it be carried out, the net effect of the combined appeal by the accredited representatives of so many Parliaments would be immense. It would ripen opinion in favour of a much more drastic and compulsory International Court than that which at present exists, it would warn the nations of their danger, and it would incidentally confer upon the Ottomans the *beau rôle* of bearing the standard of arbitration and justice through the world.

The following extract from a zealous worker in the cause of peace with justice describes the preparations already set on foot to welcome the Deputation on its arrival at a European capital :—

"I think for the reception here a great ocular demonstration would be the most impressive, with everyone carrying white flags and wearing a medal or emblem and lining the streets on either side all the way from the station to the hotel. The Pilgrims ought to arrive here on a Sunday so that we can have the Socialists, &c., in numbers, and everyone with a small white flag with 'Justice' written on it," or something suggestive.

"Of course, there will be mass meetings, receptions, &c. That others will no doubt attend to. But I will try and work up, or at least start, the ocular demonstration by appealing to the heads of the various societies and groups here. I propose to see :—

1. The heads of all the various women's societies (whom I mostly know) and get them to adhere.
2. The heads of the students' associations.
3. The heads of the various religious groups—Theosophists, Behaists, Occultists, Protestants, Jews, &c.
4. The chief Socialists and see what they will do.
5. The leading members of the American Colony.
6. The leading members of the various foreign colonies.
7. The heads and members of the "Red Cross Societies."

8. The Inter-Parliamentary group will of course take action, but I will see what they propose and whether they will adhere to ocular demonstration.

9. &c., &c., &c. (Heads of Corporations.)

As a natural consequence, if the Italian Government persisted in refusing to submit to Arbitration it would create a very bad atmosphere for Italy in every country in Europe. It would increase the chances that the Italian Government would, like that of Russia in 1878, be compelled to appear before a new Congress of Berlin.

Although it forms no official part of the programme of the Delegation, individual members will probably recommend the boycotting of Italian products, manufactures, stocks, &c., as a simple but effective method of showing the resentment aroused by the lawless outrage perpetrated by the Italian Government upon Treaty faith and the rights of nations.

THE OTTOMAN MANIFESTO.

To the Men of Great Britain.

Like a brigand from the mountains, the Italian Government in a time of profound peace has suddenly swooped down upon our country and is trying to make Tripoli her captive.

It is our turn to-day, it may be yours to-morrow.

We appeal to you for your energetic assistance to defend the common interests of civilisation and humanity against the lawless aggression of plundering Powers.

We are not making war upon the Italians.

The Italian Government is making war upon us in order to steal our provinces in the interest of financial speculators.

The Italian Government has bombarded our seaports, slaughtered our people, and seized the whole of our African Coast lines. It continues to prosecute its campaign with unrelenting fury.

We ask for peace, for a cessation of hostilities, and above all we ask that the whole dispute may be at once referred to the impartial arbitration of the Tribunal of The Hague.

The world established that Tribunal to be "accessible to all." We ask you to help us to gain access to it for the settlement of our disputes on the principles of equity and right.

We do not ask you to support our cause against the cause of Italy.

Still less do we ask to be allowed to act as judges in our own cause.

We ask only that the International Tribunal which you have established shall not be closed to us by the refusal of the aggressor to submit to its jurisdiction.

Brothers :

It is not merely the fate of Tripoli which is at stake. It is the

future of our race. The defence of the authority of the Hague Tribunal is the first duty of civilised States.

If Italy is allowed to carry out her designs unchecked by the moral sense of mankind, the policy of the brigand will be established upon the ruins of the public law of Europe and the weaker nations will be abandoned, to be devoured by their stronger neighbours.

To save humanity from so dire a disaster, we appeal to you to join us in crying, in the hearing of the whole world :

To The Hague ! To The Hague ! To The Hague !

Although war is still being waged against us, and although the questions at issue involve our honour, our vital interests, our independence and our integrity, the Turkish Government unreservedly submit the whole question to arbitration.

We ask you to insist that the Italian Government whose only interest is that of the burglar in theretention of his booty, should not be allowed to evade justice by refusing arbitration.

It is the first time in history that all the races and religions in the Ottoman Empire have appealed for sympathy and help to the peoples of the world.

But we make this appeal with confidence that we shall not appeal in vain.

Wrongs as great may have been perpetrated in the past, but never before has there been an International Tribunal to whom the injured and oppressed could appeal for Justice.

Hence the supreme importance of the present moment. We have submitted our case to arbitration. Conscious in the justice of our cause, we accept in advance whatever award may be given.

If Italy, conscious of her guilt, fears to appeal to the Arbitral Tribunal, then in the name of Justice and of Rights we appeal to you to denounce the Italian Government as the enemy of the human race, and to treat it as excommunicate of humanity until it repents and submits to the verdict of The Hague.

Signed on behalf of the whole Ottoman Nation,

(*Here follow signatures.*)

The above manifesto had not been finally revised when its text was published in Constantinople.

It was preceded by another Manifesto drawn up by the Committee of Union and Progress at the Conference held at Salonica on October 2 :—

" Italy has at length unmasked her hostile designs on Tripoli. The Italian Chargé d'Affaires handed to the Government a Note announcing the occupation of the Tripoli vilayet yesterday. The Ottoman nation prefers honour to life, and indignantly rejects Italy's audacious demands. There will be war

between the two countries, and our nation will employ every means against the enemy.

"Tripoli will courageously defend itself. The Ottoman Government will expel all Italians from Turkey. Italian schools and business houses will be closed. Our Committee will employ all its influence to cause these measures to be applied in a calm spirit towards a nation which has trodden underfoot the most sacred rights of the people. Awaiting the critical moment, we beg the population to remain tranquil, and leave to the Government the duty of acting against the Italians, thus demonstrating that the Ottomans are more civilised and more just than the Italians, who drove their Government to this action.

"We call upon all children of the fatherland to be united at this critical moment."

This was followed by a long Appeal to Europe, of which the following is a *resume* :—

"The Committee feels the need to address the European public, which, loving equity and justice, cannot rest indifferent in face of a flagrant, monstrous, and criminal violation of the fundamental International rights of humanity and civilisation We are convinced that Europe will do justice and consider the present act of piracy unjustifiable. While seeming to encourage us, Europe closes its eyes to the violation of our territory. These attacks are sufficient to make our population lose confidence in the new *regime* and consider the old better fitted to defend our territory. The last act is without parallel even in barbaric times. Italy has declared war and sent her fleet and army to invade a province whose people desire to live under our jurisdiction, to bombard ports, and to capture boats. We wish only that Europe should appreciate this act of piracy and give its verdict, considering the undeniable fact that the ultimatum orders us to evacuate Tripoli for no other reason than Italy wants it. It is impossible to call this an heritage of the ancient *regime*. Tripoli cannot be considered an autonomous province ; it is a vital part of Turkey. Seeking a reason for the occupation of an immense country, Italy's brutal ultimatum accuses us of failing in our mission of humanity and civilisation—a truly original *casus belli*. If Tripoli has not reached the stage of civilisation desired by Italy, we reply that Italy is certainly inferior in civilisation to England and Germany. We ask Italy if she would be content to see Sicily invaded by England under the same pretext. The new *regime* is still young. It is unjust to expect us to transform Tripoli into a paradise in three years. The other contention of the ultimatum referring to the proximity of Tripoli and alleging that commercial relations lack security is ridiculous and an insufficient pretext for an act of aggression. Italy under-estimates our means of resistance. Turkey protests as one man against this unjustifiable aggression, and will lay down her arms only when the former conditions are restored."

CHAPTER VII.

The Story of Naboth's Vineyard.

Tripoli, the Naboth's vineyard of the Italian Ahab, is not a vineyard, but a desert. On the seacoast there are some small towns, about a dozen in all, scattered along a coast-line 900 miles long, stretching from Egypt to Tunis. To these coast towns, which, for the most part, would hardly be regarded as more than fishing villages in Britain, come and go caravans across the desert. A British officer in the Egyptian service, writing in *The Daily Mail*, gives the following vivid description of the territory which has lured the Italian Government into war:—

"The word 'country' does not to our English mind convey anything like a correct impression of those vast and desolate regions that lie behind the Tripolitan coast-line and stretch in endless repetition across the great Sahara to the marshes of Lake Tchad. It is not a country, it is the waterless bed of a dead ocean, the sands of which have been blown into mountain ridges by a million years of wind ever blowing in the same direction. These sand-hills are being endlessly moved to leeward, and in the valleys between, brackish water is sometimes to be found, if one digs for it; these places, which are few and far between, are dignified by the name of welis—but an English village pond in the Lybian desert would be called a lake, and so a puddle is looked upon as a well. These puddles often lie in a chain of eight or ten along a sand-hill valley, and then that valley is called an oasis. But the sand-hills move, the puddles evaporate, the palms and sparse vegetation are smothered, the oasis ceases to exist, and man, bowing to the inevitable, moves on seeking fresh puddles to pitch his tents beside. To live—to exist in such a region requires untiring energy, a constitution of iron, and a spirit capable of bearing the unkindest blows of fate with equanimity."

The only thing that can be said in praise of the Sahara is that there is plenty of it. Within the frontiers of the Saharan desert which is fringed by the Tripolitan coast you could stow away the whole of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and all there is of the Italian kingdom anywhere. Italy, in annexing Tripoli, swallowed a slice of Africa three times as wide as her own area. But in this vast expanse of dead sand, with an area of 400,000 square miles, there are only 1,000,000 inhabitants, or fewer men, women and children than are living to-day in the East-end of London.

The chief article of trade is esparto grass, which is in constant demand for the making of paper. Before the war there were 200 Italians in Tripoli, who were mostly artisans and small

traders from Sicily. As we had 4,000 Maltese resident in Tripoli, we had twenty times as many subjects there as Italy can boast of. The Italians have established in Tripoli one bank, the Banco di Roma, one oil-mill, an esparto grass press, an ice machine, a cinematograph, and three newspapers, which are respectively Clerical, Liberal and Anarchist. By way of working up public opinion in favour of war, there have been seven Italian newspaper correspondents in Tripoli since spring, for whose idle hands the devil sure much mischief found to do. These industrious pressmen, having nothing serious to report, magnified every trifle and inflamed every dispute. Their note was that if Italian concession-hunters did not immediately receive every concession they asked for, and that at their own terms, the Turks were thwarting Italian enterprise. If it was not the Turks, it was Germany, or France. It is almost incredible the morbid suspiciousness which was thus developed in the Italian Press. There are hardly any Germans in Tripoli, but there are a few, who are on the look-out for business there as elsewhere. One of them got a contract for lighting the streets of Tripoli with acetylene lamps. Forthwith the *Tribuna* denounced "the German invasion." The Germans wanted to put up an hotel. The Italian colony opposed it as if the hotel had been a fortress. Lieutenant von Lochow, who had obtained some land concessions in Tripoli from the Turks, was denounced as an *avant courrier* of a German army. The Italians have now expelled him from the territory which they have annexed. The French got a contract to improve the harbour of Tripoli. The Italians made such angry protests, the contract had to be cancelled. The fact appears to be that the Italians, having earmarked the whole of Tripoli and Cyrenaica as their own, regarded every foreign merchant or explorer as a potential enemy, and their irritation with the Turkish administration was chiefly due to the fact that the Government would not regard Tripoli as an Italian monopoly, insisted upon recognising the principle of the open door, and admitting all nations to free access to the Tripolitan market—such as it is. To such arbitrary lengths did the Italians carry their claim to be the dominant and exclusive influence in Tripoli that they nearly threatened war because an Argentine journalist called Guzman published anti-Italian articles in a newspaper which he had established in Tripoli. He was expelled at the request of the Italian Consul, and then again expelled, but the Guzman affair created much alarm before it was settled. The rivalry of the Ottoman Bank and the Banco di Roma was natural, but it was the foreign bank which resented the competition of the Ottoman institution, rather than *vice versa*.

Of course, the persistent attempt of the Italians to manufacture grievances out of every incident in which the interests of Tripoli were not sacrificed to their ambitions did not predispose the Turks to facilitate their economic exploitation of

the country. Hence, last summer, when French and Italian contractors tendered for the construction of 100 miles of roads, the Turkish authorities awarded the contract to the French firm. On the other hand, by way of placating Italian jealousy, a firman was granted an Italian concession-hunting company, with the most extensive powers for prospecting for mines, &c., in Tripoli.

The Italians now parade an infinity of grievances against the Turks, but they are for the most part trivial, and almost always go back to periods antecedent to the date when the present Italian Government publicly protested against the idea that they had any reason to regard the situation in Tripoli as demanding any drastic action. Similarly, on December 2, 1910, the Marquis di San Giuliano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, had declared, "We desire the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and we wish Tripoli always to remain Turkish." Still later, in June of this year, the Marquis di San Giuliano told the Italian Chamber he hoped for a good issue of the negotiations with Turkey. He had protested against the apprehensions prevalent in certain Turkish quarters with regard to the extension of Italian economic interests in Tripoli, and against the fears that Italian aspirations might constitute a danger to the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Such apprehensions, he had declared, were based upon mistaken grounds. Italy, he asserted, desired to maintain the prestige and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and he added these words: "Our policy, like that of the other Great Powers, has for its foundation the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

Eight years ago the Italian Government had demanded from the Turks a written guarantee that all contracts for public works, be they great or small, in Tripoli should be given exclusively to Italians. Notwithstanding the alarm which such a demand roused in the Turkish mind, practically nearly every important economic concession has been given to the Italians.

Italy suddenly changed front in September. Up to that month there had been no reason to believe that the situation in Tripoli had grown worse. The Italian Ambassador at Constantinople, when I spent an hour with him at Therapia in August, made not even the most distant allusion to the possibility of a breach with Turkey in Africa. Towards the end of September the Italians suddenly threw off the mask and began afresh to complain of grievances. The Turkish Government immediately offered to make any concession that was reasonable and possible. But instead of accepting this surrender the Italian Government replied by an ultimatum demanding the consent of the Turks to the immediate occupation of Tripoli.

To this day no one has been officially informed why Italy has made war on Turkey. Various allegations have been made, [illegible] that the Turks made a hostile atmosphere to Italy in Tripoli, but that can hardly be pleaded as an excuse for a war.

The ultimatum does not help us much. Its authors state that for a long series of years the Italian Government has never ceased to deplore the state of disorder and neglect prevailing in Tripoli and to press the Turks to "allow the same progress as that attained by other parts of North Africa." As that "progress" was attained by the occupation and administration of Egypt, Tunis, and Algeria by Christian Powers, it is not surprising the Turks remained deaf to Italian representations. The ultimatum then goes on from lamentations over "disorder and neglect," which might be raised over the provinces of other Powers than that of Turkey, to rest the Italian case upon the reluctance of the Turks to grant economic concessions to Italian speculators. It says: "All enterprises on the part of Italians, in the aforesaid regions, constantly encounter a systematic opposition of the most obstinate and unwarranted kind." Then, having formulated this complaint, Italy is compelled to admit that the Turks have deprived it of any force by giving in "quite recently" to the Italian demands. The ultimatum says:—

"The Imperial Government, which has thus up to now displayed constant hostility towards all legitimate Italian activity in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, quite recently, at the eleventh hour, proposed to the Royal Government to come to an understanding, declaring itself disposed to grant any economic concession compatible with the treaties in force and with the higher dignity and interests of Turks; but the Royal Government does not now feel itself in a position to enter upon such negotiations, the uselessness of which is demonstrated by past experience, and which, far from constituting a guarantee for the future, could but afford a permanent cause of friction and conflict."

Surely an ultimatum unique in history! You make a demand upon a neighbour. He concedes that demand. Then you declare his submission is too late, and will only cause future trouble; therefore you propose to cut his throat. The ultimatum goes on in the usual cant of such documents to demand that Turkey must promise to hand over the provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica in twenty-four hours.

"The Italian Government, therefore, finding itself forced to think of the guardianship of its dignity and its interests, has decided to proceed to the military occupation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This solution is the only one Italy can decide upon, and the Royal Government expects that the Imperial Government will in consequence give orders so that it may meet with no opposition from the present Ottoman representatives, and that the measures which will be the necessary consequence may be effected without difficulty. Subsequent agreements would be made between the two Governments to settle the definitive situation arising therefrom."

To this insulting demand to "stand and deliver" the Sublime Porte returned the mild answer which does not always turn at pr wrath. It did not in this instance, as indeed it seldo[illegible]pon o

when the wrath is merely a mask for cupidity. The Turks began by frankly admitting that under the old *régime* of Abdul Hamid there may have been much to complain of, and also that "manlifod difficulties of circumstance in the last three years have not allowed Tripoli and Cyrenaica to take advantage of the benefits of progress." The Ottoman reply continues as follows :

"That being laid down, the Sublime Porte, in recapitulating the course of the three last years, searches in vain for circumstances in which it has shown itself hostile to Italian enterprises concerning Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Quite the contrary, it has always appeared to it normal and rational that Italy should co-operate with her capital and industrial activity in the economic uplifting of this part of the Empire.

"The Imperial Government is conscious of having shown a conciliatory disposition each time that it has been confronted by proposals conceived in this order of ideas. The Ottoman Government has in the same way examined, and generally determined, in the most friendly spirit, all claims and all affairs pursued by the Royal Embassy. It is necessary to add that in that it was obeying its desire, so often manifested, to cultivate and maintain relations of confidence and friendship with the Italian Government.

"In fact, this sentiment alone still actuated it when it proposed at the last moment to the Royal Embassy an arrangement based on economic concessions, calculated to afford Italian activity a vast field in the aforesaid provinces ; in assigning for sole limit of these concessions, the dignity and superior interests of the Empire, as well as the treaties in force, the Ottoman Government gave the measure of its conciliatory sentiments, without, however, losing sight of the treaties and conventions by which it is bound towards other Powers and the international value of which would not be destroyed by the will of one of the parties.

"In so far as order and security, both in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, are concerned, the Ottoman Government, which is in a good position to judge the situation, can but point out, as it has already had the honour to do, the absence of any reason capable of justifying apprehensions relating to the fate of Italian subjects and other foreigners established there. Not only is there no agitation at this moment in these countries, much less an instigatory propaganda, but the officers and other organs of the Ottoman Authority are instructed to ensure the safeguarding of order, instructions which they are conscientiously carrying out.

"Reduced to these essential terms, the present disagreement resides in the absence of guarantees calculated to reassure the Italian Government as to the economic expansion of its interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. In not proceeding to so grave an act as a military occupation, the Royal Government will be met by the Sublime Porte with the firm desire to smooth away this disagreement.

"Thus, impartially, the Imperial Government may acquaint

it with the nature of these guarantees, to which it will willingly subscribe, so long as they do not affect its territorial integrity.

"It undertakes to this end not to modify in any way whatsoever during the pourparlers the present situation in Tripoli and Cyrenaica in military respects, and it would like to hope that the Royal Government, yielding to the sincere dispositions of the Sublime Porte, will acquiesce in this proposal."

This reduces the question to the demand for guarantees. The Turks yield everything the Italians claim in the shape of economic concessions so long as their territorial integrity remains intact. Here, surely, there was an opportunity for the mediation of a friendly Power, as prescribed by the treaty of 1856, or for a settlement by reference to an arbitral court. But an amicable arrangement of the question was the very last thing the Italian Government desired. Ignoring the conciliatory tone of the Turkish reply, the Italians declared war, on the expressly alleged grounds that the Turks had not assented to the Italian occupation of Tripoli in twenty-four hours.

"The lack of this reply only confirms the bad will or want of power of which the Turkish Government and authorities have given such frequent proof, especially with regard to the rights and interests of Italians in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The Royal Government is consequently obliged to attend itself to the safeguarding of its rights and interests, as well as its honour and dignity, by all means at its disposal.

"The events which will follow can only be regarded as the necessary consequence of the conduct followed for so long by the Turkish authorities. The relations of friendship and peace being, therefore, interrupted between the two countries, Italy considers herself from this moment in a state of war with Turkey."

This declaration of war was handed in to the Porte at 4.30 p.m. on September 29, 1911. On the following day the Italian and Turkish diplomatists quitted Constantinople and Rome. Even before the time allotted by the ultimatum had expired the Italians had attacked the Turks at Prevesa.

The Sultan at once telegraphed to the Kaiser of Germany and the King of Great Britain, asking them to intervene. The Porte issued to the Powers a Note of protest on October 1, and followed it on October 2 by another Note of more urgent appeal to the Powers who were by treaty bound to offer their good offices. The Note says :—

"The Ottoman Government, in consideration of its own rights and these facts, is to-day absolutely free to take advantage of all consequences arising out of the existence of a state of war and to employ the measures necessitated thereby against Italy. The Ottoman Government, in spite of these considerations, and believing that the present state of war can yet be brought to an end, is determined to make fresh representations to [illegible] and has therefore delayed the execution of the me[illegible] referred to. The Ottoman nation, struggling t[illegible]

most sacred impulses, bases its hopes for a favourable reply on the known justice and humanity of the Powers."

The Powers gave no favourable reply. The Turks began to believe that Italy was acting in collusion with the Powers who were posing as the friends and guarantors of her independence. Russia was the only Power whose policy was not suspect. France, it was believed and asserted, had promised to hand over Tripoli to Italy in exchange for Italian support in Morocco. Austria had in like manner purchased Italy's support for the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina by agreeing to the seizure of Tripoli. England was compromised by her *entente* with France, Germany by her alliance with Austria. When the Powers one and all began to make excuse, and each explained elaborately that it could not act alone and threw the responsibility for inaction upon his neighbour, the Turks began to feel they were betrayed.

Nevertheless they persisted in their appeal to the Powers to undertake the task of mediation. Mediation meant to the framers of the Treaty of Paris the adjustment of a dispute within the limits of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. Mediation, in the mouth of the Turkish Government, meant an attempt to ascertain what the Italians wanted, with the resolution to concede it, whatever it might be, so long as it left Tripoli a province of the Ottoman Empire. Mediation, in the mouth of the Italians, meant a thing loathsome and abhorred, unless it was preceded by the formal annexation of Tripoli.

All efforts at mediation, therefore, broke down, and must of necessity break down, so long as the Italian Government demands as a prior *conditio sine qua non* that her right and power to partition the Ottoman Empire and appropriate its provinces shall be recognised by the mediating Powers as the basis of their mediation. As they can only mediate on the basis of existing treaties which forbid any such partitioning and annexing of the Ottoman dominions, those who ask the Government to mediate are indulging in futilities unless they mean that the Government should intervene to say to Italy on the one hand, "You have no right to seize Turkish provinces; by attempting to seize them you are breaking the treaties to which you have set your hand; your title to these provinces will never be recognised by us," or to say to Turkey on the other, "You are legally in the right, but you are weak; you have the treaties on your side, but Italy has command of the sea. You cannot hold Tripoli against a stronger naval Power. Therefore, submit to *force majeure*, and give it up."

It is obvious that one of these two courses must be taken by a mediator. No Government at present is prepared to take either, although they have all gone very near adopting the latter alternative. But all hope of bringing pressure to bear on the Turks by demonstrating that they were powerless

to hold an oversea possession against a Power that has command of the sea has disappeared since the Turks and Arabs have so victoriously demonstrated that no amount of naval and military predominance on the coast can give the Italians the command of the desert.

The war, which began on September 30, was to have been over in two or three days. It has now (November 13) been going on for six weeks, and the resumption of offensive operations in the desert is postponed till the spring. The Italian Government is said to have spent already £20,000,000 over this Tripolitan expedition, and the expenditure continues at the rate of £2,000,000 a week. So little was the cost of the war foreseen that intelligent observers in Rome actually asserted that the Messina earthquake was a much more serious burden than the Tripoli expedition!

And for what is this ruinous burden piled upon the shoulders of the Italian taxpayer, "the most patient human animal in the whole history of finance"? Signor Giolitti, the Italian Premier, talked oracularly about "absolute necessity," of "facts which take the shape of real fatality," and, in short, used all the familiar phrases so often employed to cloak a crime. Signor Giolitti said his Government assumed responsibility for the war because "it is convinced that, in face of the persistent and systematic hostility which has for years hindered our economic activity in the Tripolitaine, and in face of the constant provocations offered by the Turkish Government, any hesitation or delay would have compromised both the honour of the country and its political and economic position."

Thus the country whose Foreign Minister only last June repudiated all designs on Tripoli, as opposed to its treaty obligation to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, suddenly finds its honour demands the destruction of that integrity. Dismissing this preposterous nonsense, we come once more to the "economic activity" argument. Not to have seized Tripoli would have compromised "the political and economic position of Italy." But if the War God be to-day, as Mr. Zangwill says, "a man of business," he ought to have no difficulty in ciphering out a balance-sheet which would prove at a glance, first that the profits arising from the exclusive monopoly of the Tripoli markets would not yield 1 per cent. on the capital spent on the war, and secondly that Italy will never be allowed by the other Powers, especially by her ally Germany, to have an exclusive monopoly of the trade of Tripoli. The French were thirty years in subduing Algeria. The Italians will find the task of pacifying the Arabs by establishing their absolute authority over these sons of the desert will not be accomplished in one twelvemonth. The Turks administered Tripoli at a loss which averaged about £50,000 a year. Tripoli will never pay its way. The desert will swallow up millions, but it pays no dividends.

The *Times* correspondent at Rome declares that the Italian Ministers have gone into this war with their eyes open :—

"They know that Italy can hope for no profit from the adventure. Recent expeditions in the Tripolitaine have proved that as a home for some future Italian colony the territory is useless. Neither the climate, nor the nature of the soil, nor any other conditions are favourable for agricultural enterprise. The possibility of mineral wealth is too problematic to be worth considering. Moreover, such experience as Italy has had of the indigenous population would show that administration of the Tripolitaine will be a difficult task, subject to constant interruptions from unruly Arab tribes."

Then why in the name of common sense did they embark upon murdering for a market, when they knew that market was not worth having ?

"For the satisfaction of her *amour propre*," is the correspondent's explanation.

Not so, says the Prime Minister of Italy, Signor Giolitti, who told the correspondent of *The New York Herald* on November 5 that the war was necessary because the economic conditions in Italy demanded readjustments and a new outlet. He is reported as having declared :—

"The emigration to North and South America was becoming a misfortune for the country, notwithstanding that it might have been a necessity. Then, too, the new Italian spirit was chafing under its burden, and was demanding a colonial field where it could expand, thus enabling Italy to emerge from its position of a nation of a third or fourth class. For her to sit silent and inactive while other countries were absorbing Africa became a national impossibility. In fact, Italy had begun to dream of expansion and of finding herself one day again in the front rank of nations. Tripoli thus became a necessity, hence the present war."

Every sentence in this excuse is a demonstrable falsehood. The Italian emigration to the Americas, instead of being a misfortune, is an economic benefit of the first class. It is the remittances of American money which will help to pay the cost of this Tripolitan war. "The new Italian spirit," which is but the old, old spirit of vulgar Jingoism, displays its shallow ignorance by seeking a colonial field where it can expand in the sands of the Sahara. To tie a heavy hobble round your ankle is a curious way of coming to the front in the race of nations. But even if Tripoli were as fertile as Australia and Italy were as overcrowded as Japan, does it follow that because the new spirit of Italy craves to cut a swagger in the world it is therefore justified in cutting its neighbour's throat and seizing his property ?

We are familiar with this plea of the bandit and the Thug, but we have not hitherto recognised it as a plea valid to save a man from penal servitude.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Wider Issues of the Conflict.

A veteran statesman who is no longer in the political arena of Europe has permitted me to publish the following observations upon the wider issues of the conflict :—

In the mid " seventies " of the nineteenth century, men's blood ran cold with horror at the tales of atrocities committed by order of the Turkish Government upon its Christian subjects. Some years before that time, the nations of Europe had witnessed the frenzied and impassioned struggle of a torn and divided race of men for unity and for freedom from the yoke of the oppressor. Golden, glorious Italy—land of art and minstrelsy, of vast traditions and still greater dreams—we wept with you, we sorrowed for you, and when at length the dream was realised, and became with daybreak a living verity, we rejoiced with you and acclaimed your heroes, Garibaldi, Cavour, Mazzini, as heroes not only of Italy but of the whole human race.

And now, as by a stroke of some enchanter's wand, time and circumstance have changed, and the name which once stood for all that was revolting, despotic, inhuman and callous in the apprehension of mankind—the name of Turk, with its vague attendant associated idea of a shadowy Prince of Darkness known as Abdul Hamid—signifies now a people striving, even as Italy strove, against calamity and oppression ; a people in whom life was not utterly extinguished, and whose young blood, having risen in revolt against the despot, sought to run in the steady channels of progress, of unity, of gradual enlightenment, and of patriotism. Fervent in well-doing as in ill-doing, ardent in faith as fanatic in fatalism, the new embodiment of an Ottoman Empire sought to justify its existence, and to take its stand among the nations of the earth as a people who have come through darkness into light, a people to whom, alas ! Allah is more of a practical, believable reality than the God of Christendom.

You know the wanton and insolently aggressive act of what has fitly been described as " international brigandage " by which this anti-Christian people has been driven to act on the defensive, in an attempt to maintain the integrity of an Empire which, while it was synonymous with all that was barbarous and inhuman, was yet deemed worthy of treaty-recognition by the European Concert ; but now that it has repented its misdoings, finding the remembrance of them grievous and the burden of them intolerable, it is by tacit acquiescence, if not by tacit understanding, to be denied the justice usually meted out to the commonest beggar. You know how Italy has, in the person of her Ministers, shamed and disgraced her noble record and sullied her proud tradition, blotted the escutcheon of Dante and defaced the peerless

missal of St. Francis of Assisi. You know that the ultimate point of human evolution is the elimination of the baser passions of murder, carnage and bloodshed. You see a Christian Power (so called) sowing dragons' teeth, and a Moslem Power appealing for the recognition of the highest principles of the Christian religion . . . These things have moved me profoundly.

I do not for one moment consider that the real and definite point at issue is the actual and immediate fate of Tripoli itself, which, burning though it be in the eyes of the peoples most intimately associated with the question, is only to be regarded as secondary and subordinate to the vital international principle lying deep beneath the surface of temporarily associated localities and tribes. Tripoli is but the focus which has drawn together at the present moment some of the mighty and conflicting forces which are usually felt only in their abstract power of manifestation, rather as ideas and ideals to be reckoned with as they gradually arise in the course of evolution, than as concrete realities embodied in a distinct, definite and unmistakable line of action. These forces have met and are grappling together in a mighty embrace. As Titans before the half-stupefied gaze of mankind they stand close-locked in a grip so relentless in its fury, so implacable in its resolve, that it would seem that for one momentary space of time the mechanism of the universe had stood still, and in that infinitesimal yet all-pervading interval of complete and absolute suspension, Humanity stood transfixed, with upturned eyes, as though beneath some petrifying spell, while above them, towering isolated and gigantic, stand motionless in the supreme intensity of their struggle, like colossal figures outlined against eternity, the two superhumanly embodied principles of Justice and Dishonour.

And till Humanity ceases to stand transfixed in its frozen torpor of suspended animation, gazing upward or downward with vague, half-sightless eyes, and ears deaf to the myriad voices of the unseen universe vibrating everywhere around it, even so will these gigantic forces stand mute and transfixed also, in their eternal struggle, which can be terminated only by the awakening of the conscience of mankind, the stirring of mind and heart, the thrilling of aspiration, of passionate scorn, of resolution keen and alert, swift to action, not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" until thought becomes uncertainty, and uncertainty expediency, and expediency inaction, and inaction the beginning of the disintegration that dragged down Rome from her proud pinnacle.

I regard with unmeasured satisfaction and pleasure the noble and disinterested efforts which are now being made to concentrate the attention of the thinking minds of this country upon the absolutely real and vital issues of the present crisis.

That the nation as a whole has a conscience, and that that conscience only stands in need of pricking and stimulating, in order to be roused into spontaneous and enthusiastic action, I believe now implicitly and emphatically. My belief in the innate

instinct for justice of the English people is unshakable. And I believe also that the same instinctive capacity for right feeling will lead them to view this matter in its higher bearings apart from merely localised traditions and associations. I am thankful that I myself am sufficiently detached from international and party politics to be able to perceive clearly that this question is no more a question of either international or party politics than it is in reality a question as to the immediate fate of the Turkish vilayet which happens to be the present *casus belli*. The real principle which is now at stake affects the question of international honour, the sanctity of treaties, the inviolability of a political understanding, entered into in good faith, which becomes absolutely binding upon the combined moral conscience of the statesmen who have taken part in it. But greater than all other considerations which now present themselves is the conviction which has been steadily forcing itself more and more emphatically upon me that the ultimate outcome of this apparently irrational activity of the Powers of Darkness at whose instigation all such activities, all impulses towards evil, whether arising in individuals or nations, come into a positive state of being—that the outcome will be the eventual quickening of the ethical conscience of Humanity to a definite and continuous sentient existence, and that the result of such an awakening will be the establishment on a permanent footing of the Tribunal of Arbitration which, long ago conceived in the invisible universe of ideal thought and transcendental emotions, but too long regarded by the visible universe of concrete practicalities as part of the working conditions of an apparently unattainable Millennium, will rapidly assume definite form and substance, and proclaim to all the nations of the earth that the Ideal Brotherhood of Men is "no idle dream, but a solemn reality."

I earnestly believe that what we consider evils are often but the obscure beginnings of greater good, and that they form, as it were, the darkened and earth-encumbered roots out of which arises the Tree of Life, whose branches are extended and upraised towards the eternal sunlight of the Divine Presence, which is everywhere, and which, seeking to fulfil itself in many ways, reveals itself to nations as to individuals in the form, custom, and ritual most adapted to their gradually evolving needs, and whose ultimate unity with all other nations and peoples, not only of this earth, but of the many worlds of this illimitable universe, is the

> "one far-off, Divine event,
> Towards which all Creation moves."

CHAPTER IX.

The Boycott, the Weapon of the Pacifist.

The pacifist has neither gun nor bayonet, but he has, nevertheless, a weapon which, if he chooses to use it, is more efficacious than high explosives. War in the old style with weapons and fleets and armies is daily becoming more and more impossible. The immense magnitude of modern armies is now the greatest security for the general peace. When there were small standing armies always ready for war a country thought nothing of engaging in war upon the most trivial pretext. Nowadays, with universal military service, to send a nation to war is to pluck that nation up by the roots. The cost of mobilising the Germany Army was estimated by Bebel at £2,000,000 per day. The present little war is said to be costing Italy £2,000,000 a week. The cost of appealing to the Court of Mars, who has hitherto been the final judge between nations, is becoming prohibitive. Only among nations of comparatively low order and who have not yet evolved a high state of civilisation will war remain possible. Another reason why war on land and sea will become impossible is that warfare will soon be transferred to the air, and the aeroplane and airship will make armies, fleets, frontiers and fortresses obsolete. But although mankind may no longer be able to use armies or navies it will be absolutely necessary to find some means for coercing the evil-doer and reducing to obedience a state which outrages the comity of nations. Some method of coercion will have to be devised unless States are to relapse into a condition of lawless anarchy. It is here where the weapon of the pacifist supplies the important need of advancing civilisation. That weapon is the Boycott.

The modern pacifist can lay no claim to be the first discoverer of this potent weapon. The suggestion that it should be used as a settlement of disputes between man and man was first made by the first of all pacifists, to wit, Jesus Christ, who is worshipped by Christians as their Lord and Saviour. It is remarkable that Jesus Christ, whether he be God or man, legendary myth or Jewish carpenter, has seldom or ever given directions as to the application of the principles which he laid down to the affairs of actual life. He confined himself to enunciating sublime truths or to laying down general principles. Only on one occasion, and the exception is very significant, did he give practical directions as to how His disciples should apply those principles in the facts of life. The one exception was that in which He recommended the boycott as the last means of settling disputes. This will probably startle most Christians. For the truth of my statement if you will turn to the eighteenth chapter of the

Gospel of St. Matthew you will find the three following verses. There are only three verses, but they contain clear directions as to the settlement of disputes between man and man, which can equally be applied for the settlement of disputes between nations.

> If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.

If this principle be applied to national disputes this command must be taken as directing that in the first place when disputes arise nations should communicate with each other by the direct method of diplomacy, which is, of course, always followed.

> But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

Here we have the command that if direct diplomatic methods fail, recourse must be had to the mediation of friendly powers. The wisdom of this course has been recognised and unanimously confirmed by both the Conferences at the Hague. It is laid down in the Treaty of Paris, but it was cynically set aside by the Italian Government when it declared war on the Turkish Government at such short notice as to render mediation impossible. We now come to the third verse which suggests the boycott :—

> And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church, and if he shall neglect to hear the Church also, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.

The practical application of this verse to the present circumstances is quite clear. If mediation has failed, an appeal must be made to the Hague Tribunal.

Christ uses the word Church in an obviously non-ecclesiastical sense, for at the time that he spoke the Church, as we now know it in its ecclesiastical sense, did not exist.

What is the idea of a Church ? It is that of a community of believers in the Prince of Peace who organise themselves for the purpose of realising what they believe to be the will of God in all parts of the world. When we come to look into it there is no institution existing in the world to-day which corresponds to that ideal, or nearly so, but the Tribunal of the Hague. At the Hague Conferences, mankind, in the representatives of the forty-three organised States of the world, assembled on a footing of equality in order to frame regulations and make recommendations with the object of securing the peace of the nations. The Hague Conference was universal and catholic, as no Church can claim to be, and its chief object is the realisation of peace on earth. If, therefore, mediation fails, all dis-

putes must be referred to the Church, which being interpreted means—Appeal to the Hague Tribunal!

If appeal is made to the Church or to the Hague by one disputant and the other refuses to listen, then we have the clear direction that the obstinate recalcitrant brother must henceforth be to us as a heathen man and a publican.

Here, therefore, we have the Plan of Campaign of the pacifist set out in a few and simple words.

If any Power refuses to appeal to the Hague Tribunal, or which, having appealed, refuses to abide by the award, boycott him—"let him be as a heathen and a publican."

Now a heathen man and a publican in the time of Jesus Christ was one with whom the devout Israelite would not have anything to do. He did not drink with him, eat with him, or have anything whatever to do with him. He simply left him alone. If that policy were pursued to-day resolutely by all the nations towards any one of their neighbours which would not settle its dispute by arbitration instead of by war there would be no more war between civilised States. With the enormous growth of intercommunication between nations, every modern State is dependent upon its neighbour for the necessities of life. Suppose, for instance, Germany and England were to have a dispute. If mediation failed, and Germany offered to go to arbitration while England refused, if all the other nations of the world were to boycott England, Germany would have no need to fire a shot to reduce England to submission. For England is the workshop of the world, and two-thirds of her food supplies reach her from abroad. She lives by taking in the raw materials from various countries and working them up into manufactures and re-selling them. Universal boycott would immediately reduce her to submission, and the same result would follow the application of a boycott against Germany if the cases were reversed. In fact, in relation to the two great European Powers, the enforcement of a strict boycott in the case of war by only three Powers, the United States of America, the Argentine Republic, and Russia, would be sufficient to starve the outlawed nation into submission.

It is remarkable that the Christian law of settling disputes has never been applied by any Christian State, but that it has been reserved for the Chinese and the Turks to submit to the world an object-lesson as to the efficiency of this method of coercion. In both cases the boycott was applied spontaneously by the action of private individuals acting, no doubt, with the approval of the Government. The Chinese employed it with great effect in their disputes with America and Japan. The Turks first made it famous by their using it in their dispute with Austria, and afterwards, with less effect and much less wisdom, in the dispute with the Greeks. Neither China nor Turkey by their Governments as a whole have undertaken to wield the weapon of the pacifist. It has been left to private

individuals. The same course will undoubtedly be followed in the present dispute between civilisation and the Italian Government.

The war which the Italian Government is waging against Turkey for the purpose of seizing Tripoli is a crime which ought not to be tolerated by a world which calls itself civilised. It ought to have been prevented by the other Powers. But as they failed in doing their duty, this atrocious crime has been committed, is being committed, and will continue to be committed until it is stopped. It ought to be stopped and stopped at once. If it is not stopped it will breed more crimes. More plunder-wars will be waged, not only against Turkey, but against other nations, until at last this wicked war for Tripoli may involve the whole world in the catastrophe of a general war, in which civilisation itself may disappear.

"It is all very well," the reader may reply—"it is all very well to say that the war ought to be stopped, but who is to stop it? Who is to bell the cat? Where is the gendarme of the nations who can be summoned to arrest this international criminal, and to compel him to keep the peace?"

The objection is just. There is as yet, unfortunately, no gendarme of the nations—although if the Hague Tribunal is supported and developed, we shall some day have an international police. But for the moment there is no international gendarme, and so the criminal goes scot free—also for the moment. It is a mistake, however, to assume that because there is no gendarme nothing can be done. On the contrary, a great deal can be done, and very effectively done, if we all will but make up our minds to try and do it.

"But who is to try, and who is to do it?"

You and I, just you and I. We are to try and we are to do it. What is more, if we are but earnest enough and numerous enough we can do it. Make no mistake about that. You shrug your shoulders? That is natural. But wait and see if it is not true.

Why did this war begin? Why are brave Arabs and Turks being blown to pieces by shells because they defend their country? Why this hideous bloodshed, this cold-blooded murder of innocent men? Everybody knows why. The Italian Government is committing murder to gain a market. A few financial speculators think that if Tripoli is stolen from Turkey they can make a lot of money. So they are using the Italian navy and army as the monkey used the cat, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. The Government makes the war, the financial men of business pocket the profits. Behind all disguises this ugly fact stands out clear and plain—war is being made on Turkey in order to make more business for Italian financiers.

If the Italian Government is making the war to make business, the way to stop the war is to stop doing business with Italy, and so make them see that they are losing more business in Europe

n they can ever gain in Tripoli. The criminal will cease om stealing when he finds that thieving does not pay.

It is the duty of all honest citizens to do what they can to teach the Italians that honesty is the best policy. If the Italians persist in killing men and women and children—for long-range shells make no distinction of age or sex—in order to sell more goods in the African market, then we must make it impossible for them to sell many goods in the markets of Europe, Asia, America and Australia. The Italian Government having resorted to methods of barbarism to open up a market in Tripoli, let us resort to the methods of civilisation in order to close her markets in Europe, in Asia, in America—everywhere outside Tripoli.

When civilisation has made further progress all the Governments of the world will punish any State which is guilty of a crime like this of the Italian Government by forbidding all trade and all intercourse with the criminal country. Imports and exports would alike be prohibited, no ship bearing the criminal's flag would be allowed to enter a foreign port. The stock exchanges of the world would be closed against the offender. The country and its inhabitants would be placed under an interdict. The strictest quarantine would be enforced, as in the case of the plague, against all persons, letters, or newspapers coming from the country that made war without first exhausting all methods for settling the dispute amicably. For that country is suffering the worst of plagues—a rottenness of the soul.

Civilisation has not yet advanced sufficiently for us to hope that any Government will declare a legislative compulsory boycott and permanent quarantine against Italy as long as this war lasts. But in every land there are many sufficiently civilised persons to impose a voluntary boycott upon all things Italian. In the old days in England, when reformers were agitating for the abolition of the slave trade, it was a principle of honour among all good abolitionists never to buy or to use any slave-grown sugar. "The blood of the slave," they said, "is on every piece of slave-grown sugar. We cannot sweeten our tea or our coffee with human blood." There was the boycott in its purest form, the boycott of self-sacrifice for the good of humanity. It gives us an example and an inspiration.

We say to all who care for the peace of the world, or for the laws of nations, or for the rights of peoples, let us enter into a solemn pact to abstain from buying or using all things Italian until the Italian Government repents and ceases from its Tripolitan brigandage. Let us each for himself make a vow—not out of hatred to the Italian people, but with a sincere desire to deliver them as speedily as possible from their present evil rulers—to do the following things :—

(1) Not to purchase or to hold any Italian Government bonds.

(2) Not to drink Italian wine, to eat Italian food, to wear Italian silk or cloth, to use Italian manufactures ; in short, to

regard everything Italian, while this war lasts, as leprous and in plague-smitten.

(3) Not to visit Italy or take passage on or despatch goods by any Italian ship.

(4) Never to write or speak to any Italian without expressing to him your conviction as to the wickedness of this war.

This self-sacrificing vow, if taken and kept by even a small number of earnest, resolute men and women in every country in the world, will soon bring the Italian Government to its senses.

It is a duty which we owe to civilisation and international morality, to make the way of the transgressor hard. To allow the attack on Tripoli to remain unpunished is to put a premium upon brigandage, and to reward murder as if it were a virtue.

We cannot make our Government act, but no Government can compel us to buy Italian goods against our will.

Therefore our advice is—

If we want to stop the war let us boycott Italy!

CHAPTER X.

The Atrocities of the Italians.

The Italians landed and occupied the forts without difficulty. For a moment it seemed as if the sudden irresistible attack had stunned the defenders. The fact was that the Turkish General yielded to the urgent entreaties of the European Consuls and did not oppose the landing of the Italians in order to spare the women and children of the town the horrors of a bombardment. Mr. McCullagh, writing in the *Westminster Gazette* of November 9, thus records the facts :—

"That the Turks retreated, practically without firing a shot, is due, not to their inefficiency, but to their humanity. It was unspeakable Stamboul which was merciful. This statement may seem incredible, but I have it on the best authority. Like a Byronic hero, the Tripolitan Turk has left a name at which the world grows pale, a name linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes. The one virtue came at the last moment, but it was nevertheless a virtue. Two of the Consuls arranged that in the dead of night, on October 2, the day before the bombardment, a dozen of the leading Turkish officers and functionaries should assemble secretly in one of the Consulates. I am unable for the present to be more precise, as the two Consuls in question acted without the knowledge of their colleagues, the Consular body in Tripoli, being, as is often the case in out-of-the-way places abroad, somewhat divided by internal cliques and jealousies. I have therefore promised to refrain from giving names.

"Among the Turkish officers and functionaries who came was the Defterdar, who acted as Vali in the absence of Ibrahim Pasha ; General Munir Pasha, the Political Agent, a highly-educated and thoroughly Europeanised Turk of between thirty and forty years of age, and Colonel Nechit, a man of forty-two years, who acted as Chief of Staff, but who is really head of the Turkish military forces in the Tripolitaine. The faces of the Ottoman leaders wore a strangely grim and determined expression. It was clear that they had just arrived at some desperate decision. The Consuls plunged at once into the subject which was uppermost in the minds of all by begging Colonel Nechit to leave the town quietly with his troops for the sake of the women and children, and thus spare the town the horrors of a prolonged bombardment. The Ottoman General was grimly determined, however, to dispute every inch of ground, and to perish with his men beneath the ruins of Tripoli. In this desperate resolve he was supported by all his officers, eleven of whom were present at this Conference. Anyone who knows the Turkish soldier, anyone who has read the heroic story of Plevna and Silistria, will readily admit that Osmanli soldiers were quite capable of this heroism.

"The Consuls recognised with horror that they stood in the presence of men who had already passed through the terrors which guard the gate of death and keep most of us as far as we can get from that awful portal. They begged the Ottoman leader to change his mind. They pointed out how thousands of innocent lives would inevitably be sacrificed if he did not do so. One of the Turkish officers replied bitterly: 'You always speak of humanity when Christian lives are in danger. When Turkish lives are in peril you never use that word.' The discussion continued all night. Finally, when roundly accused of sheltering himself behind women and children, the Turkish General gave way and promised to leave after little more than a formal protest against the Italian landing. He burst into bitter tears as he gave this undertaking, and remarked that the Italians would certainly impute his action to cowardice. This is exactly what happened. I was talking the other day to a young officer at the front, who loudly asserted that the Turks had fled like madmen when they heard the big guns of the warship. This was an ungenerous remark for any soldier to make of a brave opponent, and it was an untrue remark."

The Italian bulletins, lying after the fashion of bulletins, represented the Arabs as welcoming their deliverance from the Turkish despotism. Not even a bulletin, however, can disguise the fact that after the first moment of paralysis and dismay the Arabs, rallying round the remnant of the Turkish garrison, actually resumed the offensive against the Italians, and were giving them a great deal of trouble. This, I confess, came as a surprise to Europe. We knew that the Desert would hold its own; but that the sons of the Desert would actually attack, and that not without success, the Italian positions on the coast, where they were under the guns of the fleet, was not expected anywhere in Europe, least of all in Italy.

Then it was that the Italians, irritated by finding their primrose path of triumphant conquest suddenly converted into a *viâ dolorosa* filled with their wounded and their dead, abandoned all the restraints of civilisation and gave way to an orgy of savagery from which mankind would fain avert its eyes in shame. They began by shooting in cold blood every Arab found with a rifle in his possession, under the pretext that they were "rebels" ("*ribelli*"). Rebels against whom? Tripoli was not then annexed, even by proclamation. The Sultan was the legal Sovereign to whom these Arabs owed allegiance. To shoot patriots in cold blood merely because they have not given up their arms was bad. But worse remained behind. Finding that the fusillade, in which they massacred prisoners and disarmed peasants, failed to strike terror into the hearts of the Arabs, rather, indeed, provoked them to assume the offensive, in which the Italians lost heavily, the Italians lost their temper, and before the horrified eyes of the civilised world in the twentieth century loosed upon the population of the oasis of Tripoli all the

bandogs of hell. This was no frenzied onrush of panic and passion. The Italian authorities appear to have ordered a systematic massacre which lasted three days, from the 24th to the 27th October. The war correspondents, seasoned to the horrors of war, were appalled at the atrocities committed when hell was let loose in the interests of Italian conquest.

Of course, the usual official disclaimer followed. But the evidence of independent eye-witnesses is conclusive. The *Times* correspondent says :—

> Italians having set themselves to cow the Arabs, the flood-gates of blood-lust were opened, and in many instances the men got beyond control and the innocent suffered with the guilty.
>
> The memory of this awful retribution will take long to live down. Even making allowances for the exigencies of the military situation, there is every possibility that the hideous severity of this retribution will give rise to a war of sanguinary and pitiless reprisals upon the unfortunates who fall by the way. War is merciless. I have witnessed one of its most merciless phases.

Reuter's correspondent says :—

> Parties of soldiers penetrated throughout every portion of the oasis, shooting indiscriminately all whom they met, without trial, without appeal. For three days the popping of rifles marked the progress of the troops. Innocent and guilty were wiped out ; many of those killed were quite young, and many women perished in the confusion. It is impossible to state the numbers of the persons thus shot, but scarcely any escaped. Nothing more deplorable than the scenes in Tripoli has been witnessed in war for many a day.

With these telegrams before them, British Ministers were subjected to an interrogation in the House to which they replied in a fashion which recalls Mr. Disraeli's airy dismissal of the first reports of the Bulgarian atrocities as "coffee house babble." On November 2,

> Mr. Leach (Yorks, Colne Valley, Min.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he would use his good offices and the influence of the United Kingdom to put a stop to the killing of Arabs, men, women, and children, by the Italians at Tripoli.
>
> Sir E. Grey.—The military operations of the Italian Government in Tripoli are a matter in which his Majesty's Government cannot interfere, and any other attitude would not be consistent with the Declaration of Neutrality that they have issued. I understand that the statement implied in the question has been denied on the highest authority, and I must earnestly deprecate the putting of questions

on the notice paper of the House of Commons in a form that must be offensive to other Governments. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gwynn asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention had been called to the accounts of the sack of Tripoli and the bombardment of Benghazi; whether he had received any official information giving authentic particulars of these transactions, and, if so, whether he would immediately communicate such information to the House; and, if he had not received official accounts of these events, whether he would telegraph to the British Consuls asking for full and detailed reports.

Sir E. Grey.—His Majesty's Government have received no information to show that since the outbreak of hostilities between Italy and Turkey any event has occurred that can be described as a sack of Tripoli. With regard to Benghazi, I would refer to the reply returned to the hon. member for Rutland. His Majesty's Government are kept informed of the course of events in Tripoli and Cyrenaica by his Majesty's Consuls in Tripoli and Benghazi, but I cannot undertake to give information except when British subjects are concerned. (Cheers.)

Later in the same sitting

Mr. D. Mason asked the Prime Minister on private notice what action the Government intended to take to express the horror and detestation which the House felt at the recent reported massacre of Arabs by the Italians in Tripoli.

Mr. Asquith.—I would refer my hon. friend to the answer given by my right hon. friend the Foreign Secretary earlier in the day. To that answer I have nothing to add except this, that questions of such a character ought not to be asked or answered on private notice. (Cheers.)

Mr. D. Mason.—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that that answer referred to the denial by the Italian Embassy which contained the following sentence, "Those who during the fighting or immediately after it, were found with arms in hands were shot," and that according to Article III. of The Hague Convention all belligerents—the armed forces of belligerent parties—may consist of combatants and non-combatants? Is the right hon. gentleman aware of that fact?

Mr. Asquith.—I have nothing to add to what I have said except to repeat that I deprecate such questions in the strongest possible way. (Cheers,)

Mr. D. Mason.—May I ask you, Sir, whether I should be in order, having regard to the fact that all the time of the House has been allocated to the Government, in giving notice of a resolution of protest which I wish to propose to the House?

The Speaker.—The hon. member is certainly entitled to give notice of any motion he desires to move and put it on the paper.

Mr. D. Mason.—Having regard to your ruling, Sir, and as

I regard this as a matter of very urgent importance, I move the adjournment of the House.

The SPEAKER.—The hon. member has forgotten the resolution of the House which forbids any motion for the adjournment of the House.

So for the moment the matter ended. The Italian Government, of course, issued the usual emphatic denials of the truth of the story, and Signor Giolitti went so far as to claim that the Italian soldiers had set the world an example of Christian chivalry. We had not long to wait for a lurid revelation of the kind of Christian chivalry the Italian soldiers were introducing into Moslem Africa.

The first detailed statement of what the Italians had done in "the Red Oasis" was supplied by a gallant young English officer who had yielded to the dictates of a generous enthusiasm so far as to ignore the proclamation of neutrality and take service with the Turks as a volunteer.

Lieutenant H. G. Montagu, of the 5th Battalion Royal Fusiliers, cabled to the Central News. His letter, which appeared in the London papers of November 4, is as follows :—

I feel it my duty to send you the following telegram, and I beg you, in the name of Christianity, to publish it throughout England. I am an English officer, and am now voluntarily serving in the Turkish army here. As you know already about the ferocious resistance which the Turks and Arabs are offering to the Italians I will only just express my admiration for their bravery and fortitude, which would warm the heart of any Englishman and of any true soldier of the world.

Imagine, then, my feelings when, on entering and driving the Italians out of the Arab houses which they had fortified and were holding, we discovered the bodies of some hundred and twenty women and children, with their hands and feet bound, mutilated, pierced, and torn. Later on at (?) we found a mosque filled with the bodies of women and children, mutilated almost beyond recognition. I could not count them, but there must have been three or four hundred.

Sir, is this European war ? Are such crimes to be permitted ? Cannot England do something to stop such horrors ? In our civilisation and times you can hardly believe it, but it is nevertheless true. I myself have seen it, and so I know. Even now we are getting news of further massacres of women and children discovered in different farms (?) lately occupied by the Italians.

I am permitted to send this for your Mr. Seppings Wright, of the Central News, who will photograph these horrible scenes, and so cannot correspond with you from here. The idea of the Italians when they slaughtered these innocents

was obviously one of revenge, from the way the bodies were mutilated—revenge for their heavy losses in battle.

We are at this moment under a heavy shrapnel fire, so you must excuse me if these sentences are somewhat disjointed. There is also an aeroplane circling over our position, directing the enemy's gunfire on us. Hoping you will do all you can to bring the barbarous atrocities I have mentioned before the British public and authorities, I am, Sir, yours truly,

HERBERT G. MONTAGU.
5th Royal Fusiliers.

Soukel Yohma, Tripoli.
Nov. 2, 1911.

Lieutenant Montagu's letter was recived with some caution. He was young, unknown and a volunteer in the Turkish ranks. His evidence was therefore regarded as suspect. It was, however, soon to be confirmed by witnesses of experience and standing whose impartiality was beyond dispute.

The most distinguished of these was Mr. Francis McCullagh, who, although still in the prime of life, had achieved a leading position among the war correspondents of the world. Few professional soldiers had seen more active service than Mr. McCullagh, who had risked his life in every war of the last ten years.

He had been through the Russo-Japanese War, he had witnessed the horrors of Pekin, had seen the atrocities of Russian pogroms, and had just returned from campaigning in Morocco. He was no tyro who would shriek at the sight of blood. He was seasoned to the horrors of war. He had gone to Tripoli as the representative of *The New York World* and *The Westminster Gazette*, and his letters had shown him to possess a power of keen observation and of impartial observation. He was admittedly a first-class witness, with no prejudices and with an almost unequalled store of experience of the actual realities of war both civilised and savage.

Imagine, then, the impression which was produced on everyone outside the Foreign Office when, on Monday, November 6, *The Westminster Gazette*, which is regarded as the semi-official organ of Sir Edward Grey, published the following ghastly narrative from the pen of Mr. McCullagh. I reprint it in full just as it was published, headlines and all.

"As a protest against the murders of innocent Arab women, children and men last week, I returned my official papers as a war correspondent to General Caneva. About 400 women and children have been shot, and 4,000 men, whereof not a hundred were guilty.

"Cripples and blind beggars have been deliberately shot; sick people, whose houses were burned, were left on the ground and refused even a drop of water.

"I personally witnessed scenes of horror, and photographed them. There has not been the faintest pretence of justice. The Arab quarter was overrun by crazy soldiers armed with

revolvers, who were shooting every Arab man and woman they met. The officers were worse than the men, and the army is demoralised.

"On returning my papers I was summoned to headquarters, but refused to consider any communication except through the Consul, and no further attempt was made to communicate with me. I am now leaving voluntarily. Herr Gottberg, the well-known German military critic and war correspondent of the Berlin *Lokalanzeiger*, took the same step. Every British correspondent, save one, leaves to-day (Saturday).

Facts Beyond Dispute.

"The facts of the massacre are beyond dispute. The Consuls have already informed their Governments. The scenes are worse than any Russian pogrom or Armenian massacre. Two pro-Italian Jews were massacred by mistake among the Arabs.

"The Arabs did mutilate corpses, but not till after the Italians began the massacres. The Arabs were at first most courteous opponents, bringing in the Italian wounded under a flag of truce.

"I visited the Italian front of battle on October 26, and found the soldiers paralysed with fear. Very many of the soldiers are now heartily sick of the war. The dreadful persistency of the enemy day and night affects the soldiers' imagination powerfully.

"Up to a few days ago, when heavy reinforcements arrived, the Italian line was in great danger of being rushed any moment, in which case there would have been a mad *Sauve qui peut*—a wild rush for boats, and every European in Tripoli would have run the danger of being massacred.

"So anxious are the Consuls still that they are desiring the Italian Government to provide transports whereon the Europeans may take refuge. General Caneva persists in regarding the Arabs as non-combatants, who fight at their own risks. He says he is fighting Turkey, and the Arabs, therefore, are not regular soldiers in uniform and must be shot if caught with arms in their hands, whether under the white flag or not.

Italian Line Broken.

"On October 26 a small, brave band of Arabs who broke the Italian line at Bu-meliana was surrounded in a house and fought for twelve hours till their ammunition became exhausted. They were all butchered, despite the white flag they displayed.

"Mortally wounded men in battle front creep up to the Italian lines for the satisfaction of killing at least one more Italian before they die. A Holy War has been successfully proclaimed. Bedouins from Egypt and Arabs from Soudan are all joining the Tripolitans.

"Only an advance guard of 1,500 Arabs is so far attacking

the Italians, despite the ridiculous statements of the Italian papers that the enemy's losses are thousands.

"The Italians may be able to hold on here, as the Spaniards at Melilla, but there is absolutely no chance of their advancing into the desert against the main Turco-Arabic force under Fethi Bey, the new energetic Vali, whose appearance on the scene changed the whole face of the war.

Last Stages of Fright.

"This little Arab vanguard is armed with antiquated rifles but fights so desperately that, despite the battleships, aeroplanes, seven field batteries, nine mountain batteries, sixteen machine-guns, and an infinite supply of the best rifles and ammunition, splendid land and sea search-lights sweeping the sea-shore and desert, deep trenches wherein hide wire entanglements, loop-holed walls, behind which crouch over 20,000 men, whereof 1,200 are perpetually in the trenches; despite all these advantages the Italians are practically besieged.

"The Italians have retreated on the east, so that the Arab sharpshooters in the date-palms now reach the town with bullets. The citadel wherein General Caneva lives was hit by a bullet to-day, and the German and American Consulates have been repeatedly hit. A soldier was killed near the American Consulate by a bullet from the Arab firing-line.

"Both the German and American Consuls have abandoned the Consulates and taken refuge in the town, and everybody in the outskirts has done the same.

"On October 31 the Turks actually shelled the town, and large crowds in the cafés on the sea-front and the streets watched the Turkish shells bursting inside the Italian lines on the sea-shore two miles off.

"Shells repeatedly burst in the English cemetery. Four shells burst in the city, two near the American Consulate, and the Italians have informed the Consuls of their intention to demolish, if necessary, all houses in the oasis on the outskirts, afterwards paying an indemnity.

"This order may necessitate the demolition of the German and American Consulates.

The Italians' Last Stand.

"The Italians contemplate a last stand inside the city. The invaders are thus worse off than a month ago, being gradually shoved into the sea territory, which is shrinking daily.

A Besieged City.

"One could go round the Italian territory in a little ride before breakfast. Strictly speaking, we are a beseiged city of very limited extent. The Italians are cutting all trees in the oasis, so as not to afford shelter to the enemy, and thus the invaders

are reducing the scanty oasis to a desert instead of reclaiming the desert.

"Great shells from the ships are constantly smashing date-palms, olives, amid which the enemy is hidden. Loud explosions every day indicate the blowing up of houses outside the walls, wherein every night the enemy take cover.

Cholera Raging.

"Meanwhile cholera is raging among the troops and the people, and the disease has attacked the Arabs for the first time. Whole streets are closed to traffic by the troops on account of the cholera. Twenty-seven soldiers died of cholera yesterday, and hundreds are sick. Thiry-three civilians died.

"The soldiers refuse to bury the murdered Arabs who litter the oasis. There is a terrible stench. The Arabs also refuse, save at bayonet's point, and, consequently, contagion is spreading fast.

Italian Battle Losses.

"The Italian battle losses are 1,500—300 dead. Five hundred wounded left on the hospital-ship a few days ago.

"Attempts are made to conceal these figures. They lie generally about the position here. They have admitted officially having executed forty Arabs in one day, when I saw fifty men and children executed in one batch alone, and executions on a far larger scale going on all round.

"General Caneva lives in the citadel, fortified and surrounded with sandbags, bomb-proof shelters, with soldiers on the roof and in the cellar. The general of division does the same. Under such absentee leadership any army would be degenerate. General Caneva is never seen at the front or outside his bomb-proof shelter.

"One sentinel, at midnight, on Halloween, fancied he saw approaching a white-clad Arab woman whom he had murdered and buried with 150 others in a trench out in the desert. He fired. The figure threw up its hands and fell; but in the morning no corpse or footprints were found.

"The same thing happened twice, and the soldiers think that the third time the ghostly figure will not fall, but advance, and the Italian line will be broken.

"The story is significant of the state of mind of the whole army."

Mr. McCullagh's more detailed description of the Italian atrocities appeared in the *New York World* of November 7. His letter is dated, Malta, November 6:

"The situation of the Italian army in Tripoli is desperate. The subjugation of Tripoli by Italy is now as distant as the Italian subjugation of the moon.

"Without further preface I will now give details of the Italian atrocities which I witnessed with my own eyes in Tripoli and

of which I have numerous photographs, taken, not out of morbid curiosity, but to substantiate a narration of facts so horrible I knew they would be felt to be incredible. Otto von Gottberg, the correspondent of the *Lokal Anzeiger* of Berlin, can confirm all I say. He, too, witnessed these barbarities.

"At daybreak on October 26 there was a combined Turkish and Arab attack on the Italian lines. These lines had been constructed in defiance of all military laws. The Italian troops were so badly placed that if the line were anywhere broken by a mad rush of the desert fanatics, there would inevitably be an immediate *sauve qui peut* into the town, and in the town no stand could or would be made. In such an event everybody would run to the harbour, and the result would be that every available boat there would be swamped in the first wild stampede.

"This explanation of the Italian position is necessary to a proper comprehension of what follows. It was the frightful risk in which General Caneva had placed his men that led to the appalling cruelty toward the native population. The danger of such a position may have been outlived by the Italian army by this time, but if it has, it is certainly not due to General Caneva that the salvation of his force would be due.

"On October 23, 24 and 25 there were attacks by Turks and Arabs from outside, combined with firing on the troops by natives inside the city. The attack of October 26 was backed by firing by the natives, and was a dangerous one.

"This firing in the city was serious, and justified General Caneva in resorting to military law and shooting every native possessing arms. Had, however, General Caneva proceeded under military law, he would have found that one hundred at the most were guilty. Instead of doing that General Caneva executed 4,000, including many women and children.

"The whole suburbs were surrounded by soldiers, who shot as sight every Arab they could find. Soldiers wandered about revolvers in their hands, shooting every Arab who showed himself, frequently firing at comrades whom they mistook in the distance for Arabs. They were literally drunk with the blood they had spilled. All the symptoms of intoxication characterised their appearance and conduct. They had the flushed faces that come from imbibing alcoholic spirits—bloodshot eyes, unsteady hand, and a complete loss of self-control.

"Behind the esparto-grass factory of the Bank of Rome lay a native village containing fifty or sixty inhabitants. A soldier was found shot in the vicinity of this village. The village was thereupon burned to the ground and all the inhabitants were butchered.

"Among the burning embers I found a sick boy and two old bedridden Arab women lying on the ground. All three had been exposed to the great heat of the fire. The two poor bedridden creatures had died of the heat, literally roasted to death.

"The boy, who seemed about thirteen, was left lying half-naked, exposed for a whole day without food or drink to the intolerable heat of the sun.

"There was a military hospital 220 yards from the spot, and I made representations to the officials there. Two faultlessly dressed officers promised to have the lad attended to. They said they would see that he was carried inside. They paid no heed to their promise, for when I returned an hour later the boy was still lying where I had had to leave him in the killing heat. We tried every means to get attention for the unfortunate Arabs. It was in vain. The fury of the Italians against the Arabs made the admission of the latter into any hospital an utter impossibility. I suggested that we try a nice Italian hotel. We went there, and it was as he said. My offer to pay all expenses availed nothing.

"During our quest for some place where humane treatment might be assured the man-hunt of the Italians was going on through the extensive, handsome Arab quarter. In that district men lay dead on the ground in all directions. A large negro occupied the middle of one of the streets. The whole top of his head had been blown off, his brains scattered around. The body was not yet cold. A soldier was amusing himself by kicking it.

"Near a burned village I found a pretty Arab girl of perhaps seventeen lying helpless on the ground. She had been seriously wounded or her legs broken, for she could not walk. She lay at the gate of the hospital piteously begging for water. No one would give her a drop. Another woman, evidently ill and certainly unable to walk, was dragged along the ground by soldiers who held her by the wrists.

Every Native a Target.

"The soldiers in my vicinity blazed away with their revolvers like maniacs. Everything native was fair game to them. At a turn in the road we came upon fifty soldiers conducting a dozen prisoners whose hands had been tied behind their backs. Among them was a tall negro Arab in European dress and a light-coloured lad wearing a red cap. Yelling wildly the soldiers ordered us to stand back. They swayed to and fro; lurched like drunken men. At their head was a captain, his face as flushed and his manner as unsteady as that of the worst of his troop. He had lost control of himself and of his followers, who shoved and jostled him as if he were in the ranks.

"None of them had tasted wine. Of that I am sure. Blood had maddened them. In their excited condition they were dangerous even to their friends, for from the reckless way in which they handled their firearms any one might be shot by them, friend as easily as foe.

"My party demanded possession of the prisoners. The

guards not objecting, all hands marched to a hut at the roadside. Most of the building had been demolished, and the part left standing had been used by the troops for refuse. Taking the prisoners by pairs they stood them against the bullet-riddled wall. Those waiting their turn stood facing the victims. Two by two they were led to the wall, and received volleys of bullets. Every Arab led forward remained perfectly calm and silent, as has been the case, indeed, with all Arabs whose execution I witnessed. In this slaughter every bullet told. The soldiers kicked aside the twisted, bloody limbs that blocked the way to one corner, and shoved an old man and the negro into the opening thus made. As they faced their executioners, the old man said something to the negro, who nodded. At that instant nine rifles spoke out at once. The negro fell dead, while the old man spun around like a top and doubled up on the ground.

"Scores of soldiers and officers witnessed this series of executions. As each pair of victims fell the spectators yelled in a frenzy of delight. One captain had a camera. He put himself in a position where he could snap the successive scenes. A volley was often delayed to enable him to arrange his focus.

"The photographing officer has been a feature of slaughters almost daily. He usually smokes cigarettes while snap-shotting.

Maddened by Blood.

"There was a mad rush forward when the last victims fell, and the air was filled with jeers and outrageous remarks. I tried to get away from this horror, but only succeeded in running into a greater one. Down the main road, toward Bumeliana, marched fifty soldiers in a hollow square. Inside the square were more than fifty Arabs—some men of all ages and some children aged about ten, slim little children, as lightly and gracefully built as Arab foals. These children seemed to be feeling quite safe since they were with their parents and in company with their relatives and all the people of their street. They looked out beyond the line of bayonets with wide-open but not alarmed eyes, and evidently were wondering where the foreigners were bringing them. The soldiers marched towards the oasis on the outskirts of the town. About a mile from the edge of the desert shots began to ring and bullets passed over our heads. Panic seized the soldiers, and they rushed to the ditches on the sides of the road. The prisoners were left standing roped together. All remained silent, and, in their white garments and bent attitudes, they looked like a flock of sheep. One soldier remained near them. He drove his bayonet into an old man and a youth. The lad fell dead, but the man was not mortally wounded. The soldier tore the clothes from his victims, and the old man was left to bleed to death after shameful mutilation. His moanings were fearful, but instead of finishing him with a bullet the soldier kicked him and jumped upon his body.

"Meanwhile the other soldiers maintained an exchange of fire from the ditches with the persons in the undergrowth. I knew that both sides firing were Italians, but these blood-crazed fiends were so blinded as to fire at one another right and left. This shooting at one another, however, has occurred all over Tripoli. The captain of the party to which I had attached myself was utterly ignored by the men he commanded. The purple-faced little man kept roaring continually at the top of his voice, though nobody paid the least attention to his orders except to disobey them. The soldiers continued to fire on their comrades for half an hour, and then a number of officers ran up and the convoy was persuaded to proceed with its work. The soldiers again surrounded the prisoners and marched them into the empty hut. At the corner of the hut the soldiers drove a bayonet into the heart of the old man and the others were hurried by groups into the hut.

"Then the usual business began, and soon the floor was so encumbered with bodies that those who came last had to climb to their own death over a hillock of their dead friends. Many fell as they climbed.

"When the work of the firing party was finished the floor presented an awful spectacle of tangled bodies and limbs, intertwined in agony. Despite the great number of bullets poured into the house, many Arabs retained some spark of life. As one or another moved the captain of the escort began revolver practice, shooting at the quivering limbs, and when no more movement occurred he fired at visible heads, making horrible jokes and inducing other officers to join in the abominable work.

"There were yet left in that frightful heap of bodies men and boys who still gave signs of life, even after the officers had tired of their ghastly amusement. At the top of the pile lay an old grey-bearded Arab; suddenly his head began to roll from side to side. He was just regaining consciousness. The captain aimed at him, but missed. The head continued to roll more as the realisation of pain became keener, and the captain aimed again. This time he hit, and the motion of the head stopped. From the bottom of the pile came a deep, hoarse moaning, and the officers again emptied revolvers into the tumult of bodies from where the sound seemed to come. Still the plaintive moaning continued, and the officers, with ribald expletives, then ordered up the firing party. Again the bodies were raked with half a dozen volleys, and when I listened again the moaning had ceased. The final volley had torn and lacerated the bodies in a frightful manner, and the pitiful pile was now too ghastly for description."

So much for Mr. McCullagh's story. It was amply corroborated. Reuter's special correspondent has left Tripoli and has also sent a message from Malta so as to be "free from the trammels

of the censorship." In this he replies to the Italian Prime Minister's denial that any innocent men, women, or children were shot after the insurrection on October 23. Reuter's correspondent continues :—

"As he has made this statement, thus throwing grave imputations on the veracity of all foreign correspondents who were at Tripoli at the time, I am sending you those cases which came under my own observation and those of Mr. Davis of the *Morning Post,* and Mr. Grant, of the *Daily Mirror,* in the course of one ride on October 27, four days after the insurrection in the town. This is an exact statement drawn up by me and signed by Mr. Davis, Mr. Grant and myself at the request of the British Consul in Tripoli, and to its absolute truthfulness we are prepared to swear."

Mr. Bennet Burleigh, the veteran doyen of British war correspondents, a man of vast experience, tells the same story. Writing at Tripoli on October 29, he reported :—

"The oasis of palms is being ruthlessly cleared of its population of villagers, small farmers, and peasants. Very many have been killed, and their corpses bestrew the fields and roads. The scent of war's scythe poisons the air. An aged Arab declares that 4,000 have been slain, and with them at least 400 women and many children. Say half that number, and you have a fearful sanguinary monument of the horrors of war and conquest, if not of something worse, and of a massacre of the strong, the weak, of aged greybeards and the young. Many have unquestionably been wantonly murdered. That is not always preventible in war, but in the twentieth century and in civilised warfare, it is quite without the pale to shoot men and lads wholesale on sight without trial, and because of their skin and dress.

"I have seen a crippled beggar—a man whose limbs were so deformed that he had to move by pushing along the ground in a sitting position—deliberately shot at near the Austrian Consulate. Dozens of other natives I have seen herded and coralled, and others fired upon in broad daylight. But there are half a dozen colleagues—English, French, and German—who assert that they have seen Arabs fusilladed in groups, and have even 'snapshotted' instances where soldiers and officers indiscriminately fired upon these unfortunate natives."

In face of all this overwhelming array of evidence General Caneva has the assurance to assert that the Italians only shot "every man who fired against us," although this itself implies a denial of quarter, a thing expressly forbidden by the Hague Convention—and that those who persisted in retaining arms were arrested and taken prisoners to Italy. If General Caneva were as bold in the field as he is audacious in unveracity the Turks might well tremble.

Reuter's correspondent says :—

"The affair of October 23 led to a general order to shoot all

Arabs found with arms in their hands in the oasis. On the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th the troops proceeded to make a clean sweep of all that portion of the oasis of which they held possession.

"For four days parties of soldiers scoured every portion of the oasis, shooting indiscriminately every Arab they met."

The three correspondents rode out of the town into the oasis. It was four days after the fight. They thus record what they saw:—

"On leaving the town, the first object which met our eyes was a group of from fifty to seventy men and boys who had been caught in the town on the previous day, or on October 25, and shot without trial of any sort. The majority of them were caught without arms, and were executed under a general order issued by the Governor, General Carlo Caneva, to exterminate all Arabs found in Tripoli or in the oasis. They had been led to this spot with their hands tied behind their backs and shot down indiscriminately. This mass of corpses lying in all attitudes in a solid mass piled on one another could not have covered a space greater than fifteen yards wide by five deep.

"During our whole progress over a distance of two miles we never saw a single living Arab—man, woman or child. Lying just outside the outpost line was another group of about fifty men and boys who had evidently been taken out there on the previous day and shot *en masse*.

"Now these men could not have been guilty of an attack on the Italians, because they had been living under their observation ever since the occupation, and had they been guilty, they should have been shot on the 23rd, the day of the outbreak in the town, and certainly should not have been allowed to roam in and out perfectly free for four days."

The three correspondents had not witnessed this shooting, though others had. But they describe shootings which they did witness:—

"Cases 4, 5, and 6.—Just as we reached this detachment (of Italian soldiers) they met three perfectly harmless-looking Arabs walking up the road and carrying no weapons. They were clad in clean white robes, and evidently men of high class. It was obvious at a glance that they were not men of the fighting class. . . . . They were seized by order of the officer and without a word of interrogation or explanation, for the Italians had no interpreter with them unless one of their own number could speak Arabic, a most unlikely contingency, they were taken inside a cottage and shot against the wall, not by a regular volley, but by a series of isolated shots."

This took place far within the then firing lines of the Italians, close to the town; but for the whole of two miles,

"Every few yards we came across fresh corpses lying where they had been shot down . . . . some bayoneted or clubbed to death with the butt ends of rifles. Many had evidently only

been wounded, and had crawled to the side of the road, there to die.

"Although there was no fighting on the afternoon of October 27, there was continual firing in all parts of the oasis. This was entirely produced by small bodies of soldiers, in many instances without officers, roaming throughout, and indiscriminately massacring all whom they met. We must have passed the bodies of over one hundred persons on this one high road, and, as similar scenes were enacted throughout the length and breadth of the oasis, some estimate of the numbers of innocent men, women and children who were butchered, doubtless with many who were guilty of attacking the Italian troops in the rear, may be appreciated."

Signor Giolitti said :—

"He who asserts that an Italian soldier will offend a woman or a child shows ignorance of our country and our race."

The Italian soldier is a human being like other human beings, and being so, he is capable of anything when maddened with panic and let loose upon a helpless population.

But even this array of evidence by independent witnesses—English, German, French and American—did not shake the imperturbable ignorance of the Foreign Office. On Monday, November 6, in the House of Commons,

> Mr. McCallum Scott asked the Foreign Secretary whether he had received from the British representative in Tripoli any report as to the wholesale massacre of Arabs, women and children, by the Italian troops ; also as to the refusal of the Italians to recognise the native population defending their country as combatants ; also as to the refusal of the Italians to respect the white flag, and as to the illegal use of the white flag by the Italians and the red cross flag ; and whether newspaper correspondents had sent in their papers to General Caneva refusing to remain with the army.
>
> Mr. Acland : No, sir, we have not received up to the present from H.M. Consul at Tripoli any report indicating that the events the hon. member refers to have taken place. I have no knowledge of the circumstances under which the correspondents referred to returned their papers to the Italian military authorities.
>
> Mr. McCallum Scott asked whether, in view of the fact that the Italians were conducting the war in Tripoli by barbarous methods and contrary to the law of nations—(Opposition cries of "Oh, oh!" and Radical cheers)——
>
> The Speaker : I do not think a question of that sort ought to be put in these terms with reference to a country with which we are on friendly terms. Before the hon. member asks such a question, perhaps he will kindly let me see a copy of it. (Hear, hear.)
>
> Mr. McCallum Scott was understood to say he had sub-

mitted a copy, but the SPEAKER, rising again, said, "No, I had a copy of the other one. The hon. member had two barrels to fire." (Laughter.)

Mr. MASON asked if he would be in order in moving the adjournment of the House, seeing that this was not an allotted day.

The SPEAKER said he might submit the question.

Mr. MASON said he would therefore ask leave to move the adjournment in order to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the events in Tripoli in their relation to the Hague Conference.

The SPEAKER: The hon. member must be definite. The hon. member has not named anything definite.

Mr. MASON: The atrocities in Tripoli are a matter of definite and urgent importance.

The SPEAKER: That is altogether too vague. The Government is not responsible for the so-called atrocities in Tripoli. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. MASON: As regard our treaty obligations——

The SPEAKER: The hon. member should at least have taken the trouble to prepare the matter.

Mr. Mason did not rise again, and the next business was proceeded with.

An attempt was made to move a resolution asking the Government to protest against the atrocities. It was resisted successfully by those who held that it was necessary to wait for official information. In this the precedent set by Mr. Gladstone was followed. He waited until Mr. Baring's official report confirmed the letters of Mr. MacGahan before he published his memorable pamphlet. But Sir Edward Grey, warned by the experience of Lord Beaconsfield, refused to publish the official information in his possession.

On November 9,

Mr. DILLON asked the Foreign Secretary whether he had received from the British Consuls full uncensored reports of occurrences in Tripoli and Benghazi during the last three weeks.

Sir EDWARD GREY.—The Consul-General in Tripoli has heard from newspaper correspondents some of the statements such as appeared in the Press, but, as I informed the hon. gentleman, the Government cannot undertake to publish official information except where British subjects are concerned. As a matter of fact, the Consul-General was not present when the fighting took place, nor was it any part of his duty to be there.

Mr. D. M. MASON asked if it was not the duty of the British Consul to furnish information as to the occurrence at Tripoli, and if he was not prepared to accept the evidence of newspaper correspondents against the violation of the convention to which the Government had been a party?

Sir E. GREY replied that he had not said it was not the duty of the Consul to furnish reports. What he said was that it was not his duty to be where the fighting was taking place.

Mr. MASON.—How can he give evidence if he is not present?

Upon reading this report I addressed to the Press the following indignant protest against conduct which is worse than Lord Beaconsfield's method of dealing with the Bulgarian atrocities :—

"I have just read in the evening papers the reply made by Sir Edward Grey to Mr. Dillon on the subject of the Italian atrocities at Tripoli. It fills me with amazement, indignation, and disgust.

"The Foreign Secretary is reported as having declared when questioned as to the reports received from the British Consul at Tripoli concerning the statements made by newspaper correspondents on the spot, who were eye-witnesses of the three days' massacre of non-combatants, prisoners, women, and children, that the Consul-General had heard these statements, but 'the Government cannot undertake to publish official information except where British subjects are concerned.'

"It is almost incredible that a British Foreign Secretary could actually have made a statement which is as revolting as it is appalling. It is worse than the worst outrage of which Mr. Disraeli was guilty in connection with the Bulgarian horrors. Mr. Disraeli never carried the doctrine of indifference to anything but British interests or British subjects to such inhuman lengths. He scoffed at the first reports of the atrocities perpetrated at Balak as 'coffee-house babble,' but he never, in his most cynical moments, denied that it was the duty of the British Government to publish 'official information' on the subject of the massacre of non-British subjects. On the contrary, he said that he had no official information, but that he would send an official to the scene of the alleged atrocities to examine and report. He sent our Mr. Baring, who, three months after the massacre had taken place, reported that he had found ample evidence of the atrocities which the Turks had perpetrated. Although not one solitary British subject had suffered, Mr. Disraeli deemed it his duty to publish the 'official information' received from Mr. Baring, and it was upon that official information that Mr. Gladstone wrote and published his memorable pamphlet on the 'Bulgarian Horrors.' Now, is it to be tolerated that a Liberal Foreign Secretary shall suppress 'official information' because the victims of massacre are not British subjects?

"Were the Vaudois British subjects 'slain by the bloody Piedmontese' whose wrongs caused Cromwell to threaten that the roar of cannon would be heard at the Castle of St. Angelo?

"I admit it is a far cry from Milton to Sir Edward Grey. But it is intolerable that a Liberal Foreign Minister should be more callous to the cries of mangled women and children, killed day after day, long after the panic had subsided, than Mr. Disraeli was at his worst.

"Of course the obvious, the only inference to be drawn from this deliberate suppression of official information is that the reports of the newspaper correspondents are true and that Sir Edward Grey, in his zeal for neutrality, dare not allow the truth to come to light in an official report. Mr. Disraeli was not so lacking in moral courage. He published Mr. Baring's report of the Bulgarian massacres in which no 'British subjects were concerned,' although he knew that in so doing he exposed himself to a storm of indignation which shattered his cherished policy in the East.

"The Liberal Party has tolerated much, too much, in the blind loyalty of its devotion to its leaders. But surely this last outrage will be more than the most servile of party hacks can tolerate. If there be even a spark of its ancient spirit left in the House of Commons it will insist, not only upon the immediate publication of all 'official information' on the subject of the Italian atrocities, but it will compel the Foreign Office to command from its Consul-General an exhaustive report upon the allegations so circumstantially made that the Italian soldiers, by the orders of their officers, long after the fighting had ceased and days after the panic had passed, violated the explicit rules of war laid down by the Hague Conference by killing enemies who had laid down their arms, by massacring prisoners, by murdering non-combatants and by shooting women and children.

"It may not be a Consul-General's 'duty to be on the place where the fighting was taking place.' It is his duty to ascertain and report upon the truth of allegations made by credible witnesses as to the deliberate and wholesale breach of the laws of war embodied in a Convention to which the signature of a British Government is attached."

I have no wish to argue from the hideous story of the doings of the Italian panic-stricken soldiers that the Italians are worse than any other soldiers in the same circumstances. But the matter is of importance because of its bearing upon the Hague Conventions of the Rules of Land War.

We signed that Convention. It forms the recognised Code for the conduct of hostilities. Italy signed it also. If the Italians set its provisions at naught, there ought to be some means of bringing them to book, even though they are a nation with whom we are on "friendly terms," and even though we have declared our neutrality. We may be the best of friends with a neighbour, but if he cuts his servant's throat we hand him over to the police. Neither do we recognise that a declaration of neutrality frees us from responsibility for acquiescence in his crime.

The laws of war embodied in the Hague Convention have long been recognised by all civilised nations. The Articles bearing upon the misdeeds of the Italians are very explicit.

It is often assumed, and indeed asserted, by the ignorant that there are no laws of war or that the notion of laying down

laws for the conduct of troops in the field is a sentimental fantasy of the Hague Conference. Nothing could be more contrary to fact. The great fighting nations have for centuries recognised the necessity for defining the limits of legitimate warfare. It is not necessary, however, to go farther back than the Brussels Conference of 1874 to prove that civilised nations have recognised the necessity of laying down a code of the laws and customs of war. It is worth while quoting some of the articles of this Brussels code which bear upon the questions raised by the present war.

Art. 1.—A territory is considered as occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army.

The occupation only extends to those territories where this authority is established and can be exercised.

Art. 10.—The population of an unoccupied territory who on the approach of the enemy of their own accord take up arms to resist the invading troops without having had time to organise themselves in conformity with Art. 9 (which prescribes that they shall have a responsible chief, wear some badge recognisable at a distance, carry arms openly) shall be considered as belligerents if they respect the laws and customs of war.

Art. 11.—The armed forces of the belligerents may consist of combatants and non-combatants. In the event of being captured by the enemy, both the one and the other shall enjoy the rights of prisoners of war.

Art. 12.—The laws of war do not allow to belligerents an unlimited power as to the choice of means of injuring the enemy.

Art. 13.—According to this principle are strictly forbidden : (*c*) Murder of an antagonist, who having laid down his arms, or having no longer the means of defending himself, has surrendered at discretion.

Art. 9.—All destruction or seizure of the property of the enemy which is not imperatively required by the necessity of war.

Art. 14.—Stratagems (*ruses de guerre*) are considered lawful means.

Art. 15.—Fortified places are alone liable to be seized. Towns, agglomerations of houses, or villages which are open and undefended cannot be attacked or bombarded

Art. 18.—A town taken by storm shall not be given up to the victorious troops to plunder.

Art. 23.—Prisoners of war are lawful and disarmed enemies. They should be treated with humanity.

Art. 38.—The honour and rights of the family, the life and property of individuals, should be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.

Art. 39.—Pillage is expressly forbidden.

These laws, with some slight modifications in phraseology, were re-enacted at the first Hague Conference, and again at the second Conference. As the Convention of 1907 represents the last word of the Governments of the world—including Italy and Great Britain—upon the subject, I quote the latest version of the laws of war.

The preamble states that the signatory Powers—

> Animated by the desire to serve even in the extreme case [of an appeal to arms] the interests of humanity and the ever progressive needs of civilisation;
>
> Thinking it important with this object to revise the general laws and customs of war, either with a view of defining them with greater precision or of confining them within such limits as would mitigate their severity as far as possible;
>
> Have deemed it necessary to complete and explain in certain particulars the work of the First Peace Conference, which, following on the Brussels Conference of 1874, and inspired by the ideas dictated by a wise and generous forethought, adopted provisions intended to define and govern the usages of war on land.

The preamble proceeds to declare that, while they lay down a general rule, they cannot frame regulations covering all possible circumstances, but they do not intend that unforeseen cases should, in the absence of a written undertaking, be left to the arbitrary judgment of military commanders. In such cases "the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the laws of nations as they result from the usages established among civilised nations, from the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience."

The Convention, which, it is well to remember, was framed by the representatives of Great Britain, Russia, and Japan, among other nations, fresh from great wars waged in Africa and Asia, is divided into chapters. In Chapter I. we find the following articles:—

Art. 2.—The inhabitants of a territory which has not been occupied, who on the approach of an enemy spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having had time to organise themselves in accordance with Art. 1 (as to responsible chief wearing a recognisable emblem and carrying arms openly), shall be regarded as belligerents if they carry arms openly and if they respect the laws and customs of war.

Art. 3.—The armed forces of the belligerent parties may consist of combatants and non-combatants. In the case of capture by the enemy, both have a right to be treated as prisoners of war.

Chapter II. is devoted to prisoners of war.

Art. 4.—Prisoners of war must be humanely treated.

Chapter III. relates to hostilities.

Art. 22.—The right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited.

Art. 23.—In addition to the prohibitions provided by special conventions, it is expressly forbidden—

(*c*) To kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms or having no longer means of defence, has surrendered at discretion.

(*d*) To declare that no quarter will be given.

(*g*) To destroy or seize the enemy's property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war.

Art. 24.—Ruses of war . . . are considered permissible.

Art. 25.—The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended is prohibited.

Art. 28.—The pillage of a town or place, even when taken by assault, is prohibited.

Art. 30.—A spy taken in the act shall not be punished without previous trial.

Art. 42.—Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army.
The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised.

Art. 46.—Family honour and rights and the lives of persons and private property must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.

Art. 47.—Pillage is formally forbidden.

Art. 50.—No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the population on account of the acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as jointly and severally responsible.

Such are the laws and usages of war which the Italian Government undertook to respect. Such are the laws and usages of war which the Italian army stands convicted, on the unimpeachable evidence of independent eye-witnesses, of having trampled under foot in the Tripolitan oasis.

There are certain laws so obvious, so universally admitted, that, on the same principle that the Romans framed no law against parricide, were not included in the code of The Hague.

They are, for instance :—

The killing and violation of women is strictly forbidden.

The murder of children is strictly forbidden.

The shooting of blind men, cripples and aged persons is strictly forbidden.

The murder of prisoners of war is strictly forbidden.

The shooting, wholesale or retail, of non-combatants is strictly forbidden.

All these laws of civilised war are universally recognised. All these laws of civilised warfare were trampled under foot and set at naught by the Italian soldiers.

The Hague Conference laid down the law. It provided no Court of Justice for punishing offenders who broke the law. The only punishment that can be meted out to the criminals is to gibbet them in the pillory of the world. That duty the Press has nobly performed. To his lasting shame, Sir Edward Grey has endeavoured to deprive civilisation of this last poor method of punishing offenders, by using his official position to suppress official information as to the perpetration of these crimes.

CHAPTER XI.

The International Protest Against the War.

Italy declared war on Turkey on September 29, 1911. The Italian Ambassador quitted Constantinople on the following day.

On the same day (the 30th) a memorial was drawn up in London addressed to Sir Edward Grey, which, after expressing profound alarm and regret as to the war, respectfully ventured to point out that the British Government and other signatories of the Hague Convention had not performed the duty which they had undertaken to discharge (Article 48). The memorial concluded as follows :—

> As the existence of the Hague Convention appears to have been entirely ignored in the recent negotiations, we venture respectfully to request that the duty undertaken by Great Britain should be performed without any further delay, and that the Powers in dispute should be reminded of their own adhesion to the Hague Convention and urged to employ its peace-making machinery for the settlement of their present dispute.

On the following day, the Baron D'Estournelles de Constant addressed a letter to M. Caillaux, President of the Council, reminding him of the duty undertaken by France and other signatories of the Hague Convention to intervene for the purpose of offering their good offices to compose the quarrel.

The memorial and the letter were acknowledged by the Ministers to whom they were addressed, but no action of any kind appears to have been taken.

I went over to Paris and there saw Baron D'Estournelles de Constant, who in conversation pointed out to me the significance of the clause added by the Conference of 1907 to Article 27 of the Convention of 1899, which accepts the duty of reminding conflicting powers of the existence of the Hague Convention. Article 27 became Article 48 in the 1907 Convention. The added clause was as follows :—

> In case of conflict between two Powers, one of them can always address to the International Bureau a note containing a declaration that she would be ready to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Bureau must at once inform the other Power of the declaration.

"As this afforded an opportunity to any Power in conflict at any time while the conflict lasted to notify to the world its readiness to submit the controversy to arbitration, I called upon the Italian and Turkish Ambassadors at Paris to ascertain whether there was any likelihood of their Governments availing themselves of this permission. The Italian Ambassador smiled, shrugged his shoulders, and said there was no occasion for

taking any such steps, as there was no war, and the operations necessary to straighten out a somewhat tangled situation would be completed in two or three days, when the incident would be at an end. The Turkish Ambassador at first demurred on technical grounds, then raised the objection that it might seem cowardly to appeal to arbitration while the Empire was invaded, but ultimately decided that he would advise his Government to take this course. I then saw representatives of the Berne Bureau, which represents the federated Peace Societies of the world, the representatives of the American Peace Trust, and other well-known pacificists, discussed the matter with them, and found them unanimously in agreement with me in thinking that it was now or never with the advocates of International Arbitration. Something must be done and that at once to remind the world of the existence of the Hague Tribunal, and we agreed that if the Turks could be induced to declare their readiness to submit the dispute to arbitration we should have an unexpectedly favourable jumping-off point for an international demonstration in favour of International Arbitration.

On my return to London on Wednesday, October 4, I at once summoned a meeting of the representatives of peace and arbitration societies at my office in Kingsway, and to them briefly stated the great new hope that had dawned upon the world out of the darkness of the Italian war. It was decided to summon a more representative meeting at Mr. Milholland's house, 4, Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington, on Monday night. Invitations were sent out to every London Society of Peace and Arbitration named in the Peace Directory issued by the Peace Council, and to all the notable pacificists whose addresses were published in that directory. The Independent Labour Party, the Socialists, the Women's Societies were all invited, and, of course, the representatives of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

On the following day, Thursday, October 5, the *Times* and other daily papers published a long letter of mine entitled "The War and the Hague Convention. It began thus :—

> Will you allow a private person the use of your columns to attempt to discharge a duty which all the Governments of the world have undertaken to perform, but which hitherto they have unaccountably neglected ?

It concluded with the following appeal :—

> The Governments of the world may forget their duty. The nations have a better memory. In the name of all the high hopes which hailed the creation of the Hague Tribunal we appeal, and we shall not appeal in vain, to all those in whom conscience is not finally extinct to defend this palladium of the world's peace as men fought to defend their fatherland against an invading foe.

A copy of this letter was enclosed with each invitation to attend the meeting.

In the meantime the International Peace Council had met

under Lord Courtney of Penwith, and passed a memorial urging the Government to offer mediation and "should press upon Italy the submission of its complaints and claims against Turkey to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, or to some other method of international determination."

On October 6 (Friday), at Mr. Milholland's, there met some fifty or sixty men and women, members of all the leading Peace and Arbitration Societies, representatives of organised Labour and Women's Societies. Sir Thomas Barclay was in the chair. Letters were received from about half as many more notable pacificists, all expressing their entire sympathy with the movement.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

1. This meeting, representing those in every country who regard The Hague Tribunal as the Temple of Justice, the Citadel of Right, and the Palladium of Peace, express their amazement and indignation that two signatories of The Hague Convention should have appealed to arms without being reminded by any other of the forty-one signatories of the existence of The Hague Tribunal, a duty which they undertook in Article 48 to perform, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded in the name of this meeting to Sir Edward Grey.

2. That the organised Governments of the world having failed in their duty, it is necessary that an appeal should at once be made to the nations whom these Governments represent, in order to remind the world of the existence of The Hague Tribunal, to assert its authority, and to insist that the present dispute between Italy and Turkey should be referred to The Hague for adjudication in accordance with the principles of justice and right.

It was further decided, at the suggestion of Mr. Milholland, that delegates should be sent to Constantinople and to Rome to remind the Governments of the warring powers of their obligations and opportunities under the Hague Convention, and to make a final appeal to each of them to refer the merits of their dispute to arbitration. I was nominated as envoy to Constantinople, Mr. Moscheles envoy to Rome.

I left London on Sunday, October 8, and reached Constantinople on Thursday morning, October 12. I saw the Grand Vizier, the Foreign Ministers, the Sultan, the Sheikh ul Islam, and other personages. The Ottoman group of the Inter-parliamentary Union took up the idea with enthusiasm, and decided to make the appeal to Europe on behalf of treaty faith and international arbitration.

I left Constantinople on my return journey on Wednesday night, October 27, spent a day in Brussels, where I saw the President and Secretary of the Inter-parliamentary Union the President of the Berne Bureau, and the Secretary of the

International Socialist Bureau; and another day in Paris, reaching London on Monday, October 30.

I found on my arrival that an International Arbitration Emergency Committee had been formed out of those who attended the original meeting at Mr. Milholland's, and to them I submitted on Tuesday, the 31st, a report of my mission. The Committee decided to summon a public meeting for the purpose of considering the duty of Britain in relation to the war. It was impossible to obtain the Queen's Hall, as it was engaged for every night till the end of the year. It was decided, therefore, to take Whitefield's Tabernacle for Tuesday, November 7.

Invitations were sent out to all members of Parliament, Mayors, and other notables, accompanied in every case with a reprint of my article in the *Daily Chronicle* of November 1, "For Peace with Justice by Arbitration."

In reply to this appeal the following letters were received, among others:—

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON:

"I am only able to say that every moment of my time next week is occupied, or I would most gladly have accepted your invitation to the meeting about the lamentable war now being waged in Tripoli.

"I do most profoundly deplore that war should have been commenced without the points in dispute, whatever they may be, having been first referred to impartial arbitration.

"I venture to say my own experience warrants me in believing that it is always the party in a dispute that feels the greatest confidence in its cause that is most ready to avail itself of friendly arbitration."

THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD G. CLARKE:

"I am heartily with you in your desire to make a public and emphatic protest against the wicked violation of moral law, and the law of nations, which Italy has committed in her sudden and wholly unprovoked seizure of Tripoli. It will be a calamity to the world if the Governments of Europe fail to make effective protest against an act which, if condoned and sanctioned, makes international law a trumpery phrase and allows the reign of mere barbaric force."

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AVEBURY:

"I am quite in sympathy with the object of your meeting, and cannot too strongly express my indignation at the wicked and barbarous behaviour of Italy. Unfortunately, I am laid up with an attack which makes it impossible for me to come. Please express my great regret."

THE RIGHT HON. LORD WEARDALE:

"The position in Tripoli is deplorable, but I am more sanguine than you as to the possibility of mediation. The Italians are finding out that they have a very heavy job before them. They can, of course, hold the court under the protection of their fleet, but the pacification of the districts behind their line of defence is a very serious matter for them indeed, and the Arab forces beyond will be a continual menace.

"We have our Jingoes, as the South African War painfully demonstrated, and so have all other nations. The Jingo element in Italy will very rapidly lose its force, and the sober opinion of the country will view with increasing disfavour the horrible bloodshed and desolation which their

Tripoli venture is entailing. Consequently, I am personally more hopeful that the time has almost, if not already, arrived, when Italy would listen to friendly overtures, and thus enable this lamentable business to be brought to a conclusion.

"As to the breach of International Conventions, and the deplorable disregard of solemn assurances which we have witnessed, no one could feel more strongly than I do. The Conventions of the Hague are openly flouted. Civilisation is mocked at, and the methods of barbarism we had hoped were discarded are again resorted to. Still, I cannot believe that Italy will be deaf to appeals to her more enlightened opinion. We have to appeal to a generous people who have played a noble part in history, and in tendering the good offices of a friendly nation, we should not assume too readily her indisposition to listen to representations so made. The Inter-Parliamentary Union is taking action in this sense in many different countries, and our British group more particularly is actively pressing its views upon the Government."

THE RIGHT HON. LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH:

"I watch your activity with much sympathy and admiration. You are working in the right way, and I hope will be abundantly rewarded. I cannot promise to come to your meeting next Tuesday; indeed, I fear this will be impossible, but I shall wait its result with some impatience. With such a busy man the fewest words are best."

LORD LAMINGTON:

"I entirely sympathise with the objects of the meeting. Apart from the question of annexation, there is no parallel in modern times to the methods employed in carrying it out. How can Christian principles be extolled at such an instance of might is right? It is to be hoped that our Government will find some means of vindicating their position as responsible for the welfare of so many million Mohammedans."

LORD NUNBURNHOLME:

"I am in hearty sympathy with the proposed international protest against the War in Tripoli, which seems to be nothing but brigandage, and should never have been allowed by the Powers."

THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P. (Hornsey Division):

"I regret that I cannot be present owing to other engagements; but I am in hearty sympathy with the object of the meeting. No British Government should ever be allowed to lose sight of the fact that there are sixty million Mohammedans in India who are citizens of the British Empire, and who have loyally stood by the British Government through troublous times. They surely have a right to look to Great Britain to use her best endeavours to secure fair play for their co-religionists. For this reason, if for no other, I heartily support you in your endeavour to arouse the interest of the public."

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH:

"Infirm health, old age (87), and other causes must prevent me from availing myself of your courteous invitation, which had it lain within my power I would willingly have accepted. All my life through I have loved Italy, her literature, language and gallant struggles for liberty, but I must say that the present attack upon the territories of another Power wears an aspect that needs explanation, and so far as I am aware, no sufficient explanation has been laid before the British public. Until that has been given, I must reserve my opinion."

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER:

"You may indeed count upon my sympathy upon this matter. Only this morning I wrote to George Trevelyan thanking him for his letter in *The Times*, and saying how much I was appalled by what looks like civilisation turning its face backward from the way of progress towards earlier and more barbarous things. Particularly am I struck with the contrast between this high-handed, isolated action of Italy, and the iron barrier with which we used to be confronted in the days of the Eastern Question, of action by any single Power to mitigate the woes of Armenia, or the like, because of 'the impossibility of acting without the consent of the European Consort.' It seems as if aggression could do at a stroke what was forbidden to humanity."

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS:

"I cannot come to the meeting, for I am engaged elsewhere, but I am full of sorrow and horror about the war, and consider it may lead, if unchecked, to a very serious Mohammedan outbreak in many other parts besides those in which the Italian War is carried on. Our hope of ever winning the Mohammedan races will be by peaceful, not warlike, measures."

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF DURHAM:

"I cannot leave Durham at all in this present month, for I am 'in close residence,' *i.e.*, responsible for every service day by day.

"I am specially sorry for this hindrance, for I am heartily with you in this case. The Turks will inflict great harm on misguided Italy—and that will be all her reward. Our Government ought to be ready to interfere in the matter as an independent Power that has no direct interest to mislead her.

"If this war lingers on it will endanger the peace of Eastern Europe and be fatal to the new rule of more enlightened Turks at home, as well as to the finances of poverty-stricken, and to her credit among the European members of our Western comity of States."

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CARLISLE:

"I am in entire sympathy, and desire to unite myself with the international protest against the war in Tripoli organised by yourself. I am not in a position to offer an opinion on the merits of the dispute or of the character of our Treaty obligations; but I would venture to enter a most earnest protest against the action of the Italian Government in disturbing the peace of the world, and that apparently without provocation and practically without notice, before and without referring her complaint to a Tribunal of the Hague Court, or some other form of arbitration. In the interests of humanity I earnestly trust that His Majesty's Government will offer its good offices to Italy and Turkey with a view to the termination of hostilities."

THE REV. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND:

"You will appeal from the Italy of Tripoli, from the Italy that has surrendered to some blind and cruel hour of panic, to the Italy that we remember, the Italy that we have loved so long, the Italy that stood always for Liberty, and saw the Vision, and followed the Gleam; surely that Italy is not yet dead? We look to her to live again."

THE REV. DR. CLIFFORD:

"Alas! I am in Newcastle on Tuesday night, and therefore cannot be with you. Had I been in London I would gladly have attended. You

will have a great gathering and a glorious send-off. We must go ahead and put down this latest iniquity."

THE HON. NEIL PRIMROSE, M.P. (Wisbech Division):

"I regret I shall be unable to be present at the meeting on November 7, owing to a previous engagement. I hope the meeting will be a successful one, as no one should support Italy in her policy of wanton aggression."

MR. W. BURDETT-COUTTS, M.P. (Westminster):

"Not only as an old friend of the Turks (the Turkish peasants, who are the backbone of the nation), nor only as a fellow-subject of the King with millions of Moslems, but as a mere ordinary associate in the cause of justice and fair play, I am ready to join in any protest against the most flagrant outrage in modern history. Nothing but a flaccid and helpless spirit of assent to everything that *is*, whether it be right or wrong—and in this case to the theory that 'might is right,' against which the conscience of Christendom as well as every instinct of popular liberty has protested through the ages—can keep the English nation silent and unmoved in this matter. But to my mind that spirit is abroad in the land, threatening in many ways the honour of England and the strength of the Empire."

L. A. ATHERLEY-JONES, M.P. (Durham, North-West):

"In response to your kind invitations I regret that a previous engagement which I am bound to keep must prevent my attendance at your meeting of international protest against the Italian aggression on Tripoli.

"It was my pride when a child to have met at my father's Garibaldi, when he came to England to receive the ovation of a freedom-loving people on his triumph over the tyrants of his native country.

"Fate, with cruel irony, now compels us to condemn the nation, whose liberty he redeemed, for the most wanton violation of international rights and the most callous disregard of the sacred principle of national independence that modern history can record.

"An Eastern despotism is busy destroying the poor remnants of Turkish liberty; that is within the eternal fitness of things. A liberated people is seeking to enslave those who have begun to learn the first leadings of constitutional government!"

GEORGE J. BENTHAM, M.P. (West Lindsey):

"I seldom criticise foreign Governments, as I believe each nation should work out their own salvation as we have done. I much regret Italy's attitude. If Italy had rights in Tripoli she should have sought them at the Hague Conference, and if she had no rights, her action is that of a highway robber. At the same time, after we have expressed our abhorrence of Italy's action, I should be no party to be dragged into stronger methods, as it is no part of our duty to right every wrong in the world."

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS BURT, M.P.:

"I am entirely in sympathy with the object of the meeting to-morrow night. Heartily do I wish every success to the gathering, and I regret that I cannot be with you in person."

SIR W. P. BYLES, M.P. (Salford):

"Though I can't be at your meeting on Tuesday, I am sternly opposed to the 'encroachment of might upon the rights of nations'—whether it be by Italy in Tripoli, by France in Morocco, or by Great Britain in South Africa.

"Let us have the same moral code for nations as for individuals, and (in case of quarrel) the same resort to *law* instead of to *violence*."

HENRY G. CHANCELLOR, M.P. (Shoreditch):

"On Tuesday last a meeting of my own constituents unanimously passed the following resolution:

"'That this meeting of Haggerston citizens, having regard to our Treaty obligations, and in the interests of humanity, urges His Majesty's Government to offer its best offices to Italy and Turkey with a view to the termination of hostilities.'

"This was sent to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.

"Anything I can do will be done to help the movement forward for stopping this horrible war, and for making resort to the Hague Tribunal customary, and, in time, compulsory before war is declared."

T. EDMUND HARVEY, M.P. (Leeds West):

"I strongly sympathise with your protest against an act which is unworthy of the great ideals of Italy's past, destructive of the binding character of international obligations, and a betrayal of the hopes of civilised Europe."

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P. (Durham, Barnard Castle Div.):

"If I can manage to get away from the House I shall be present, as I am very strongly with you in your protest against the policy adopted by the Italian Government. It is seriously to be deplored that Italy should have broken with her splendid traditions, especially at this juncture, when there was a growing feeling amongst civilised communities in favour of settling disputes by arbitration. I trust the demonstration to-morrow will speak strongly against the course which has been adopted. Permit me to say you have placed all lovers of peace and international fair-play under an increasing obligation for the splendid stand you have made with regard to this regrettable business."

RICHARD C. LAMBERT, M.P. (North Wiltshire):

"It may be that the reports are untrue, though, even it this be so, the Italians have only themselves to thank if their rigid censorship has produced the usual crop of exaggeration—but, if a fiftieth part of what we hear has any foundation, they seem to be behaving like a gang of robbers and cut-throats, who justly deserve the execration and contempt of every Christian man and woman. It is indeed time that Europe roused itself from the moral lethargy into which it has fallen, and showed that there is still some shred of decency left even to the Chancelleries. What is the use of Ministers who speak fair words on arbitration when there is no cloud on the horizon, but when the day of trial comes are afraid to put their principles into effect?

"I wonder what the late W. E. Gladstone would have said or done had he been alive to-day? Would he have stood aside in fear lest action might give offence to some country? I think not. It is a disgraceful business—disgraceful first of all to the pirates who have started the war, but disgraceful also to every nation which by its inaction and silence makes itself a party to the crime."

DAVID M. MASON, M.P. (Coventry):

"You may have noticed my endeavour to obtain from the Government information and an opportunity for the House of Commons to express its horrors and detestation of recent occurrences in Tripoli. This is apparently impossible. It is then to the people of this country to whom

we must appeal. I believe that appeal will not be made in vain, and if a so-called Liberal Government is so false to the highest and noblest traditions of Liberalism, it will deserve, and rightly deserve, to be hurled from office, to make way for those who have remained true to these traditions."

PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P. (Blackburn):

"I am in the fullest sympathy with the objects, and will do my best to support any decision at which the meeting may arrive. The whole business connected with this war is so outrageous that the Christian nations of the world ought to exert their power and influence to the utmost to bring it to a speedy end."

GEORGE R. THORNE, M.P. (Wolverhampton East):

"The war between Italy and Turkey is disastrous in its effect upon international efforts towards universal arbitration, and I earnestly hope that what you are doing may have beneficial results in the direction in which you have devoted your life."

WILLIAM THORNE, M.P. (West Ham):

"In consequence of another engagement I fear that it will be impossible for me to be present at the meeting at Whitefield's Tabernacle in connection with the International Protest against the war in Tripoli. I may assure you that there is a strong feeling among Trade Unionists and Socialists that steps should be taken to put an end to the unfortunate conflict. At a meeting of the Joint Board of organised labour—composed of representatives of the Labour Party, the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Trade Union Congress—held yesterday in the House of Commons, a strong resolution of protest was unanimously carried."

THE HON. ROLLO RUSSELL:

"I have read with great interest and sympathy your letter on Italy and Turkey, and shall be glad to join in a solemn and well-directed protest."

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON:

"I desire heartily to support the resolutions to be moved at the meeting at Whitefield's, and I authorise the secretary to append my name to the appeal to be forwarded to the Foreign Office."

SIR JOHN MACDONELL:

"Sympathise heartily with any protest against greatest crime against public law of Europe since Napoleon."

SIR THOMAS BARCLAY:

"The annexation of the Tripolitaine, to say the least, is quite premature. Annexation in international law creates a legal situation which would justify the Italian Government in resorting throughout the country to acts of repression, an example of which has filled Europe with indignation, and which, I feel sure, every patriotic Italian as bitterly deplores as Italy's friends.

"We are entitled, I think, to conclude from Sir E. Grey's statement (House of Commons on the 2nd inst.) as to none of our Treaty rights being permanently impaired by anything which is taking place in Tripoli, that the Foreign Office is by no means blind to the illegality of the annexation.

"I hope you will have a good meeting, and that nothing will be said or done to wound the feelings of the Italians in connection with the efforts we are all making in the interest of this country and civilisation to place international relations on a footing of order, legality and justice."

PROFESSOR L. T. HOBHOUSE:

"I am sorry I shall not be able to come to the meeting on Tuesday, but I am strongly in sympathy with every effort to arouse public opinion in Europe with regard to the present war and its methods. To put aside all other considerations, the action of Italy in embarking on an admittedly causeless war is a source of danger to the peace of Europe, which, if the methods which her troops are charged with employing are allowed to pass without question, it is to be feared that the character of warfare in the future will be even darker than it has been in the past."

MR. H. M. HYNDMAN:

"I am wholly with you, without any reservation, about the Tripoli business. It is an outrage in every way. Our Party, as you see, is doing its utmost to stop the war in *all countries*, and our Italian comrades are running precisely the same sort of personal risks which we ran at the time of the Transvaal piracy, in their endeavours to check this Imperialist mania. Unfortunately, as I wrote you before, protests by the English *bourgeoisie* seem to be not a little hypocritical."

WALTER CRANE:

"I am obliged by your letter and other communications on the subject of this terrible war.

"I certainly entirely sympathise with the object of your meeting, but I am only one of those Socialists who have protested against the action of Italy throughout Europe. We have no ultimate appeal except in common humanity, the sense of justice and right, and the welfare of the race, but these ought to be fully sufficient as giving us standards of national and international conduct. But I understand financial reasons, as usual in modern wars, are at the bottom of this Tripoli business.

"I think your resolutions are quite to the point; but as I shall not be able to attend the meeting I send you this letter, and I fully appreciate the efforts you are making in the cause of peace and arbitration.

"As a great lover of Italy, it is particularly painful to feel compelled to be opposed to her present action as a nation, and this feeling is, I believe, largely shared by English people; but how few nations, and their Governments, are in a position to throw stones?"

THE REV. DR. T. J. LAWRENCE:

"I have just returned from the Church Congress, where I have been pleading the cause of international peace and arbitration.

"I am inclined to think that some, at least, of the leading Governments of the civilised world, our own included, have been doing much behind the scenes to (1) prevent the outbreak of war, and (2) find some means of terminating it now that it has broken out. The real grounds of Italy's action are, one feels sure, of such a kind that it would be exceedingly difficult to find a formula under which they could be referred to an Arbitral Tribunal. But this is no reason why a serious attempt should not be made to discover some means of terminating the war forthwith, and with as little injustice as possible. I trust you and your friends will be able to think out some practicable plan."

MR. E. D. MOREL:

"I regret that a previous engagement makes it impossible for me to be present at your meeting.

"It is difficult to find language in which to express one's feelings at the outrageous violation of elementary justice and humanity which has characterised Italian action. On that point the meeting is likely to voice the sentiment of the great mass of Englishmen.

"But there is another matter which calls for searching investigation, both from the point of view of British honour and from the point of view of British Imperial interests. The President of the Turkish Chamber has stated categorically in a letter to M. Emile Vandervelde, that France and England were aware of the projected Italian raid, and sanctioned it. Unless we are in a position to disprove (not merely to deny) this assertion, we shall appear in the eyes of millions of our loyal Muslim subjects—on the eve of His Majesty's visit to India—abettors of an outrage which is being condemned in meeting after meeting throughout India. To emphasize the momentous consequences which such a belief will entail is unnecessary.

"The key to the whole situation appears to me to lie in the present conduct of foreign affairs in this country. Unless and until the British nation regains some sort of control over its foreign policy—which at present is a dictatorship, pure and simple—I fail to see, for my part, how protests like yours, valuable as they are in showing the world the real sentiment of the nation, can have practical results in influencing British foreign policy."

MR. CHARLES MONTEFIORE:

"I sincerely hope that at the meeting something will be decided upon of a practical nature. The attitude of the Powers over the lamentable war between Turkey and Italy seems to me to be nothing short of disgraceful."

PROFESSOR SILVANUS THOMPSON:

"I have no faith in physical force movements; but is it not clear that some organisation is needed of the nature of an international police to represent *visibly* the authority of the Hague Conventions?"

MRS. SAUL SOLOMON:

"Needless to say I am with you heart and soul on your moral grounds, and in the interests of peace and arbitration. Beyond these considerations there is the large question of Imperial policy. Already Islam is on the alert, and upon its knees in every mosque in India and in Africa to pray for the Sultan. What does this mean? Just what the proclamation of the 'Colour Bar' has meant in our vast Dependencies—the awakening of the forces of Mahomet to realise that the hour draws near for their advance when Allah or Christ must prevail on the earth.

"I would fain re-echo your cry for a statesman to take the lead in this crisis in Tripoli, which, if neglected, may induce complications of the gravest import to Christian Europe."

MR. ROBERT BLATCHFORD:

"I join in the protest against the Italian theft of Tripoli; it is as wicked as our theft of Egypt, though more frank. And while I am protesting I grasp the occasion to protest, also, against all the other war of my time. . . . What is France doing in Morocco, England in Egypt, Germany at Agadir? Certainly, I protest against the whole hypocritical, cowardly, bloody business."

THE REV. DR. G. CAMPBELL MORGAN:

"I recognise the extreme difficulty of these international questions but this whole business, so far as one is able to judge it from the newspapers of all political opinions, is so utterly bad that I do feel that the most solemn protest ought to be made.

"From my view-point, Italy has no right in Tripoli of any kind. However, I should have felt, as an Englishman, unable to protest against her wrong-doing in that direction, because our own hands are not clean in like matters. But when I read of the methods that are being adopted, I do feel that it is impossible to be silent. I earnestly hope your meeting will prove to be what Carlyle declared Kingsley's 'Alton Locke' was, 'a salvo of red-hot shot against the devil's dung-heap.'"

MR. WILFRID S. BLUNT:

"I am, of course, in complete, indeed, in violent sympathy with all you say in denunciation of the Italian raid, and I entirely agree with you that a strait-waistcoat must be applied, and applied at once. I go even farther than you do, knowing how absolutely destructive of their domestic and moral life such a Government as modern Italy would impose on the Arabs of Tripoli would be. The modern Italian has divested himself of all restraint, moral or religious. He has cast off his mediæval beliefs, and, apart from his still remaining superstitions, acknowledges no principle we in England connect with the name of Christianity. The Italian of the South especially, to establish whom as colonist the raid has been devised, is an utterly depraved being. His establishment in North Africa would mean the establishment of the drink-shop and the brothel and the gambling hell. It is against these and in defence of their domestic life, far more than against dogmatic Christianity, that the Mohammedans of Tripoli are fighting. There need be no doubt as to which side in the present quarrel represents the cause of God and which of the devil.

"In all this I am sure that your view and mine are pretty much the same. What I have, however, a doubt about in your programme is the efficacy of the means you propose for putting an end to the war and defeating the proposed iniquity. I cannot think that there is the smallest chance at the present stage of the affair of an appeal to arbitration being listened to, and something much stronger than argument is needed to apply what you call the strait-waistcoat on the wrong-doer. The Italian fleet is cruising loose in the Mediterranean and is threatening new murders everywhere among the seacoast towns and villages of the Ottoman Empire. What is wanted now, and at once, is not a Court of Law to settle where the right and the wrong is, but a policeman to arrest the disturber of the peace. The Hague Tribunal, though excellent as a Court of Appeal, has no executive authority. Some Power stronger at sea than the Italian must be persuaded or forced by agitation to intervene and insist upon an evacuation of the country seized. Then, if you will, we can go on to The Hague for a final settlement.

"If you agree with me in this, as the right order of procedure, I would suggest that the first point to determine at your meeting on Tuesday will be, Which of the Great Powers of Europe is in the best position to apply the

needed force, and which can best be acted upon and constrained to undertake the executive duty? It is clear that none of them are willing, and, that being so, it is all but hopeless to expect them to act in concert. In my own opinion, I have no hesitation in saying that the duty of intervention is rightly England's own—England is, in the first place, by far the strongest Power at sea, and this is essentially a naval affair. Secondly, England is far more free than the rest to act. Were the German Powers to intervene, there would always be the risk of a combination against them of Italy with France. Were France to act, there would always be danger of such a combination with the German Powers. England's island position and her *entente* with France leave her free. Lastly, England is in reality the Power more than any other responsible for the partition of North Africa, and this has been the cause of the present trouble; it has been Italy's excuse for action. I need not argue this. Our position in Egypt, our agreement with France seven years ago about Morocco, are sufficient proof even without the all but certainty we have that Sir Edward Grey was secretly cognisant this summer of the intended raid on Tripoli, and consented to and approved it. It is, therefore, England's duty of reparation more than the duty of any other Power, seeing what inhuman results have followed from Sir Edward Grey's connivance, to intervene now and bid Italy go no further. There is a saying of the late Lord Salisbury which I was reading only yesterday in Mr. Holland's Life of the Duke of Devonshire and which applies well to the case: 'Those,' said Lord Salisbury, 'who have the absolute power of preventing lamentable events, and, knowing what is taking place, refuse to exercise that power, are responsible for what happens.'

"I will not do Sir Edward Grey the injustice of supposing that he foresaw, when he consented to the raid on Tripoli, that it would be carried out by the Italians as a war of extermination against the Arab population. Sir Edward Grey is a worthy English country gentleman, of old-fashioned Whig opinions, and he cannot have foreseen the massacres that have resulted, the lust and rapine, the murder by hundreds of women and children. Sir Edward is neither brutal by nature nor callous, but he is singularly ignorant of any country but his own, and he is entirely without imagination and woefully ill-advised by his subordinates. He probably had been told that the Arabs, because they do not love the Turks, would greet the Italians with joy as deliverers, and he gave consent on this understanding in England's name. The raid was, of course, immoral in itself, but not more immoral than many an English raid which he and men of his Whig type of Imperialism have schooled themselves into regarding as necessities of civilisation. He foresaw nothing except perhaps a little bloodshed of the ordinary military type. All the same, he has made one of the most ghastly mistakes ever an English Foreign Secretary committed this country to. If you want to do any good with your agitation, you should begin with Sir Edward Grey and our own Foreign Office. You should insist on his making a clean breast of the whole affair. If he says he knew nothing of it, tell him he ought to have known and foreseen; the result has been criminal, his ignorance was in itself criminal. If he admits his knowledge and consent, then insist on his resignation, as the admission will be one of a double criminality. Above all, insist on reparation at once being done and the murderous work being put an end to; insist on a cessation of hostilities.

"Sir Edward, if brought to book, will probably plead that England cannot withdraw from her plighted word to Italy; that England has declared neutrality; that she cannot now resort to force or to anything more than expostulation. These are idle words. It is a maxim in law

that an immoral agreement cannot be enforced; it is not binding either in law or equity; it is null and void. Neither is a dishonourable agreement binding in honour. Insist with Mr. Asquith's Government that the language his Foreign Secretary shall use to Italy shall be this: 'When we agreed that you should take possession of Tripoli we thought that the Sultan, its legal owner, would be willing to part with a province useless to him for money; we thought that the Sultan's subjects there would be glad to exchange their allegiance from him to you; we thought that things would go easily, that it would be a walk-over for you; above all, we thought that you would behave like a civilised people, not like wild beasts, in your conduct of the war. We see we were mistaken, that you are without honour, without civilisation, without Christian decency. We will have no further part in this affair. We will not continue to be your accomplice. We summon you to recall your fleet and evacuate the ports you have seized. We insist that this war shall cease.' This, translated into the polite phraseology of diplomacy, would suffice; Italy would give in. If she does not give in, insist that England shall make common cause with Turkey and mobilise the British Fleet."

Other letters and telegrams were received from the Rev. Monro Gibson, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mr. Tom Mann, General Sir Alfred Turner, the Bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, and Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter.

The speeches delivered at Whitefield's are reported in the next chapter.

The most remarkable and least noticed demonstration of public feeling on the subject of the war was the great series of meetings held throughout Europe on November 5, under the auspices of the International Socialist Bureau of Brussels, which was entrusted by the International Congress, which met at Zurich on September 24 and 25, with the duty of organising a Continental demonstration against the Tripolitan Expedition and *pour la paix mondiale*. The response was most satisfactory everywhere.

On Sunday, November 5, mass meetings were held in all the great towns in Europe, from Scandinavia in the north to the Balkan peninsula in the south-east. Everywhere the working classes spoke with one voice, and condemned with unhesitating emphasis the indescribable brigandage which the Italian Government is carrying on in Tripoli.

In Buda Pesth 50,000 men took part in the demonstration. In Paris 5,000 persons assembled to listen for five hours to speeches by M. Jaurés, M. de Pressensé, and M. Vandervelde in denunciation of the war. Of these great demonstrations the Press reported not one word. But they took place all the same.

In Egypt and in India the demonstrations of public feeling have been very remarkable, very persistent, and very menacing. They usually take the form of protests against the war, vows to boycott Italian goods, and demands that the British Government

should intervene. The most notable thing about the Indian meetings is that Hindoos and Moslems vie with each other in expressing sympathy for the Turks and abhorrence of the Italian invaders.

In the United States of America the movement in favour of appealing to the disputants to refer the question to international arbitration has assumed very large dimensions. According to the circular issued by the International Arbitration Emergency Committee, very vigorous measures are being taken to rouse American sentiment on behalf of the Turks.

Professor Dutton, ex-Principal of the famous Horace Mann School, now Secretary of the great New York Peace Society, of which Mr. Carnegie is President, reports as follows to Mr. Milholland as to the action that is being taken across the Atlantic. Dr. Butler, to whom he refers, is President of Columbia University and among Mr. Carnegie's most intimate friends and advisers.

"I am glad to tell you that Dr. Butler, representing the Carnegie Endowment, has taken up the matter of the treaties most vigorously, and, incidentally, of course, the high-handed action of Italy will receive a good deal of attention. Meetings are to be held throughout the country; the machinery of the Press is to be set in motion; our own Peace Society has been delegated to correspond with 100,000 clergymen throughout the United States; business and Labour organisations are to be invoked; and, in fact, a good deal of a stir will be made during the next three months.

"I share in your feeling. Italy's action is simply a lynching and shows the unscrupulous character of some Governments. I almost wish that the war were in a part of the world where Turkey could give Italy a good trouncing, which she would do if land forces were employed."

All round the world, from East to West, rises in increasing volume the chorus of malediction for the Italian Government and of sympathy for the Turks. But nowhere in the whole circumference of our planet has there so far been heard from a single public meeting one word of approval of the Italian crime. On this subject the human race speaks with a single voice.

CHAPTER XII

The Meeting at Whitefield's

The meeting summoned by the International Arbitration Emergency Committee to hear the report of its emissary was held in Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, on Tuesday, November 7, 1911. The spacious building was crowded to the doors by a representative and enthusiastic audience. The chair was taken at 8, but it was after 11 that the meeting dispersed.

The Chairman, the Rev. Thomas Yates, of Kensington, was supported on the platform by Mr. W. T. Stead, Mr. Milholland, and Mr. H. S. Perris, of the Committee; by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali and Shakour Pasha; by Mr. Sherwell, M.P., Mr. Silvester Horne, M.P., Sir W. Byles, M.P., Mr. G. R. Thorne, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw Thompson, the Rev. Mr. Chisholm, Mrs. Despard, Mr. Cunninghame Graham, and Mr. Israel Zangwill.

In the audience there were a few Italians, who occasionally expressed their dissent, but they were not numerous enough to deflect even for a moment the steady glowing enthusiasm of the meeting.

Owing to the desire of Members of Parliament to return to the House of Commons, Mr. Stead's speech was cut in two. The second half was delivered after the Chairman had left the chair declaring the meeting dissolved. In this report the speech is printed as if it had been delivered without a break. For the same reason the extraneous remarks of some of the other speakers which had no relation to the subject of the meeting are not reported here.

At the word of the Chairman, the audience rose and stood while the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw Thompson opened the meeting with prayer.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. H. S. Perris, then read extracts from the large number of letters of sympathy, beginning with the Lord Mayor and ending with the Rev. Campbell Morgan. He also acknowledged the services of a detachment of Boy Scouts, who were sent by Sir Francis Vane to act as stewards at the meeting.

The Chairman, in the course of a brief, earnest and eloquent address, said that he thought that meeting was long overdue. The war had been raging for a month, and this was the first public meeting that had been held in favour of peace. It was impossible for them to remain still any longer. Silence meant saying Amen to proceedings from which they altogether dissented. He had no sympathy with those peace advocates who were zealous and outspoken so long as the sky was clear and no war

was in sight, but who became mute when war actually broke out. Better make mistakes in trying to do something in the cause of peace than be idle and silent in the face of this monstrous wrong. They would be told, no doubt, that they would disturb the Foreign Office. He was of opinion that the nation would benefit if that Office suffered a great deal of disturbance, and if that disturbance were kept up until the secret ways of the Foreign Office were brought into accord with the ideas and the principles of the democracy. (Cheers.) Another objection was that we had not clean hands, and therefore had no right to object to the action of the Italians. But if no criminal was ever to be arrested except by immaculate policemen every rascal would go scot-free. (Cheers.) He then called upon Mr. W. T. Stead to report as to the mission to Constantinople with which he had been entrusted by the International Arbitration Emergency Committee.

Stop the War.

Mr. Stead, after a brief invocatory prayer, said :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : Why are we here ? What is it that you want ? What is it that I want ? We want to stop this war, and stop it now. We want to stop this war, I repeat ; and, what is more, I am here to explain to you how, if you will all be earnest, energetic, and resolute, you can make your Government stop this war, and stop it now. Why do we want to stop the war ? Some of us will say, for the sake of civilisation and humanity, others for the sake of Christianity ; but there is another reason which, perhaps, you have not thought of, and that is, for the sake of Italy. I have not come here to say one word on this platform against Italy. Italy is the second country of all of us, who in our fervent boyhood were inspired with enthusiasm for Italy which no other country could inspire. She was the country of Mazzini and Garibaldi, the country whom we love, and it is the country whom we now wish to serve by trying to stop this war, and stop it now. No greater service could be rendered to Italy than by stopping this war. If you doubt it, pray consider how much Italy would have gained if, instead of waiting for five or six weeks, our Foreign Office had realised its duty and stopped the war before it began ! If there had been no war the name of Italy would not have become a byword and a reproach. Italy stands to-day disgraced by her own Government—a treaty-breaker and an international highway robber. Italy, whose own brave sons have been subjected to a strain which they were not able to bear, has afforded to the world a spectacle of unbridled passion and cold-blooded murder at which we all shudder. Italy would have been saved from all that if war had been stopped before it began. If the war be not stopped now Italy will go from bad to worse. She is just at the very beginning of her troubles. She went into this war not dreaming what it would cost her. Three days after the

war broke out, I had an interview with an Italian Ambassador whom I went to see in the cause of International Arbitration. His Excellency laughed at the idea of arbitration. He said: "Why are you worrying yourself about this affair? There is no war. It is all over." "No war?" I said; "what is there then?" He said, "Only a little necessary operation to straighten up a tangled situation. Everything will be over in two or three days. Don't distress yourself." I said, "You have not yet begun the beginning of this war." Since then, the war has gone on for five weeks. They thought it would last five days. They thought it would involve small expense. It is costing them £2,000,000 per week. How long will they stand that strain? How long do you think the Italian people will bear that burden? Its soldiers are like caged rats on the border of the desert, afraid to venture from the shelter of their own guns. Bankruptcy is an unpleasant thing for any nation to face, and behind bankruptcy there will be revolution. Bankruptcy and Revolution are standing as great rocks right in front of the way in which the ship of state of Italy is being steered. Therefore I say, for the sake of Italy, stop the war and stop it now!

The Reign of Brute Force.

There are many of us who have lost all heart and lost all faith, who have said, "What is the use of talking about Right and Justice when it is clear that Force is the only thing that counts. It seems to be all nonsense about peace and arbitration, let us stick to armaments."

> "Force rules the world:
> Has ruled it, will rule it;
> Meekness is weakness, Force is triumphant."

We live, as Lord Morley once said, in one of the ever-recurring epochs wherein force, truculent and unabashed, sweeps away the moral judgments of the world. You and I are here to-night to take up our stand in defence of the moral judgments of the world, which force would sweep away. We may be but feeble folk, but Truth and Justice are on our side. If we are but faithful we shall to-night kindle a flame which, please God, will never be extinguished.

The Futility of "Tu Quoque."

The moment we make this protest on behalf of Right against Might, there are many who say, "Britain has not clean hands; people who live in glass houses should not throw stones." I do not think that I need to be told that England has done wrong things. I, who have been hunted through the streets of this city as a traitor and a pro-Boer for denouncing my own Government am not likely to stand here to say that John Bull is always right. Indeed, one of the reasons why I think the present protest is so necessary is because I wish to strengthen the barriers

which restrain the lawless Jingoes among our own people from repeating their crimes. For if the Italians are allowed to make this war of brigandage without protest to-day, their action will be invoked as a precedent to excuse some equally monstrous crime on our part to-morrow.

Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We see this in the way in which Italy endeavours to condone her raid upon Tripoli by pointing to the action of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, when a small wrong is condoned, it is the thin end of the wedge, and because Austria, after thirty years' occupation, changed her status from occupant to owner, Italy is to be free to invade and annex two provinces of the Ottoman Empire. If I allow a neighbour to steal a kitten, it does not follow that I ought to allow him to steal a cat. I admit that we ought to have stood up about Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sir Edward Grey made a bold and gallant stand about Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it seems to have exhausted his fighting capacity, and then, when a much greater outrage comes along, he declares his neutrality!

The Great Red Dragon of War.

What we have to recognise is that the great red dragon of war has broken loose from confinement and is ravening amongst us once more. Of late years, for fifty or sixty years past, the human race, becoming ever more intelligent and educated, has endeavoured to chain up this monster, and with some success. For forty years no gunshot has been fired in war in Western Europe. For fifty or sixty years the greatest danger of war which has threatened us in the Eastern part of Europe has been held up by barriers which have been placed round the lair of this wild beast. We have fenced him in with a triple barrier of solemn treaties. We built one at Paris in 1856, another at London in 1871, and a third at Berlin in 1878. Whenever he tried to break through this triple barrier he was headed back, and all the powers of Europe acted as watchmen to guard the triple palisade. In order to make assurance doubly sure we set up at the Hague in 1899 and again in 1907, a double row of fences intended to render it impossible for the huge carnivore to break out to desolate the earth. Austria pulled down a palisade despite the warnings of the watchmen. Italy now levels flat the whole fivefold barrier of the public law of Europe, and none of the watchmen raise the alarm. Hence it is that we meet here to-night to see what can be done to re-erect the restraints which the law has placed upon lawless power and to vindicate the authority of The Hague Conventions before mankind.

His Mission to Constantinople.

A month ago I was asked by a meeting of friends of peace

held in the house of Mr. Milholland to go to Constantinople to ascertain how the land lay. Mr. Milholland is an American gentleman resident in London, who has for many years past shown an enthusiastic determination to serve humanity by promoting international peace on the basis of justice; and it was his idea that I should be sent to the capital of Turkey in order to see what could be done to secure a recognition of The Hague Conventions. I have to give an account of my stewardship. I was away for three weeks, and I will endeavour to briefly mention as many things of interest as possible. In the first place, I have to tell you that there is not the slightest possible chance of the Turks giving in to the Italians in this war. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I had opportunities of ascertaining the views of my Ottoman fellow-men, from the Sultan upon his throne downwards. And they all said one thing. "No, we will not; we cannot give up Tripoli. We are willing and have always been willing to meet Italy in every way. We offered every concession short of ceding our sovereignty. But Italy refuses to be content with anything less than annexation outright, and to that we shall never consent."

The Turks Will Fight.

The Turks told me: "We are willing to accept mediation. We have asked for it once, twice, three times, and what answer have we got? Always one thing. You shall have mediation if you will give up Tripoli lock, stock and barrel. We have been asked, 'Could you not make some arrangements so that if your suzerainty were recognised you would let the Italians keep the administration of Tripoli?' Our answer to that is, 'Are the Italians willing to recognise our suzerainty?' and the reply is, 'No, not a rag, not a vestige of Turkish sovereignty shall remain in Tripoli. Take the Turkish provinces and hand them over to us, then we will consent to mediation.'" It is of no use talking of mediation till you have first made the Italians recognise that its basis will be not for the highway robber to keep in his pocket the plunder. I have spoken to the Grand Vizier and ex-Grand Viziers, I have had talks with the Foreign Minister. They said: "We want peace, but we want peace with honour. It is not the value of Tripoli. It costs us more than it brings in. But are we going to hand over our Moslem Arabs to a Catholic Power? And if we did, what would it prove? It would proclaim to the world that Turkey is no longer a living body but a dead carcase, from which any hungry neighbour might cut a steak. It is Tripoli to-day. It might be Syria to-morrow, and Salonika the next day. Unless we are prepared to be cut up piecemeal we must make a stand some time, and we may as well make it now." So you may dismiss from your minds once for all any notion of stopping the war by inducing the Turks to surrender Tripoli. (Loud cheers.)

How Long Can They Keep it Up?

What is more, if they did, the Italians could not take Tripoli, even if the Turks held their hands. They are at war with the desert, and the sons of the desert will be too many for them. None of us ventured to think that they would have any difficulty in the sea-coast towns. It was only when they ventured into the desert that it was thought they would find any serious opposition. But now we see the Italians besieged in Tripoli in imminent danger of being driven into the sea. The Turks say that they will be able to keep up the war till March. The best authorities say that the Italians will be lucky if they are able to subdue the Arabs in five years.

The Extension of the War.

The burning question for the moment is as to whether the Italians, having been foiled in Tripoli, will be allowed to carry the war into other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Now, that is a matter on which we have a right to have a voice. When we declared our neutrality it was after the Italian Government had expressly disclaimed any intention of landing troops in any other part of the Ottoman Empire than Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and had as explicitly declared that it limited its naval operations to the protection of its own coasts and its own shipping. So said the Italian Government when the war broke out. And, so help us God, we will keep it to its words. If it breaks the conditions it itself laid down, we will not be neutral any more. If we are united, earnest and resolute, there will not be one Italian soldier landed in any part of the Ottoman Empire outside Tripoli or the British fleet will know the reason why. I am a pacificist, and because I love peace so much I am in favour of upholding the law which is the sole security of peace. You can never get rid of the soldier till you have created the policeman, and to allow Italy to trample the public law of Europe underfoot is to dethrone peace and establish international anarchy.

Italy and Her Allies.

The Italian Government, befooled by the notion that the annexation of Tripoli would be a primrose promenade, were awaking to discover that in that respect they had been in a fool's paradise. They still flattered themselves that the Powers would allow them to do as they pleased. There also they might find out their mistake ere long. The indignation expressed in this meeting is shared by all the peoples of the world. Italy in vain looks round Europe to find a single face which smiles upon her, and least of all does she find one in Austria and Germany her own allies. If anyone would rejoice at a settlement it would be Austria and Germany. Instead of indulging in absurd alarms about German designs, it would be much wiser to seek

to co-operate with the Kaiser to bring this criminal war to a close.

The Turks, Old and Young.

The question is not whether we love the Italians or hate the Turks. We all love the Italians, and most of us have been stout anti-Turks since the days of the Bulgarian atrocities. But it is not a question of partiality or of prejudice. It is a question of justice. I may be regarded as a witness free from any partiality for the Turks, but I must bear evidence to the fact that in this issue they are so absolutely in the right that no one even among the allies of Italy ventures to defend her conduct from the point of view of law or justice. Further, I deem it my duty to testify that although the Young Turks have their faults, no one can visit Turkey without recognising that they have in three years achieved great things. They have achieved a great and beneficent revolution. A Parliament has been created in which any man can speak his mind with absolute freedom. Is it nothing that the spy system has been abolished, the passport system abolished, and that the police and soldiers and civil servants get their wages paid regularly without having to plunder the people? These things have been done by the Young Turks. Is it right that Treaties protecting the Ottoman Empire which had been vigorously enforced when Abdul Hamid was on the throne should now be thrown into the waste-paper basket when the Young Turks are endeavouring to establish freedom and progress?

Interview with the Sultan.

When I was received by the Sultan I asked after his health. He said: "My health is good, but my heart is broken." I said to him, "You will be surprised to know that I have come to congratulate you upon the greatest blessing which could have happened to you." He said, "What is that?" I said, "The Italian attack upon Tripoli." He looked as if I were playing a bad joke upon him. I said, "It is demonstrably correct. The fate of Tripoli is a small affair compared with the two great dangers which always threaten the Ottoman Empire with destruction. Both these dangers have been reduced by the action of the Italians. The first danger is the universal dislike and distrust with which the Turks are regarded by the nations outside their frontiers. The second the tendency of parties, religions, and religions within the Empire to fight with each other and destroy the unity of the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to the wanton attack of the Italians, the Turks are now regarded with sympathy throughout the world, and the invasion of Tripoli has so unified the Ottomans that instead of Turks fighting Arabs, they now fight side by side against the common foe. Believe me," I said, "the Italians have done you more good in one week than all your friends could have done you in twenty years."

The Great Pilgrimage of Peace.

The Sultan was cheered by what I said, and inquired what pacificists proposed to do. I then had an opportunity of explaining to His Majesty what I will now proceed to explain to you, the great campaign which it is proposed to make throughout Europe in the cause of International Arbitration. The president of the Ottoman Group of the Interparliamentary Union has conceived the brilliant idea of appealing to the affiliated groups in every Parliament in the world by means of an Ottoman Deputation. Never before was the European atmosphere so favourable to the Turks. Never before has there been so much unity within the Empire. The idea is to compose a deputation of the fine flower of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, representing all races and religions, so as to make it a microcosm of the Ottoman Empire, and send it round Europe to plead for peace with justice by arbitration. The Sultan was so much pleased with the idea that he promised to subscribe £1,000 towards its expense. They have, however, raised £3,000 without the need of appealing to His Majesty. They have selected a deputation which will contain the Sultan's brother-in-law, and two other Turks, a Greek ex-Cabinet Minister, an Armenian Judge of The Hague Tribunal, an Arab, a Bulgarian, a Syrian Christian and a Jew. These nine Senators and Deputies, representing both the Ministry and the Opposition, will start shortly for a pilgrimage of protest and appeal of propaganda and of agitation in favour of enforcing the public law of Europe by an International High Court of Justice of the world.

How the Great Appeal Will be Made.

The Deputation starting with the benediction of the Sultan will proceed in the first place to Bucharest, and from thence pass on to Buda-Pesth, Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. From St. Petersburg it will visit the Scandinavian capitals, and then turning southward, visit in their order The Hague, Brussels, Berne, Paris, and London. They will arrive here about Christmas. But they will not come alone. The fundamental idea of the pilgrimage is that the Ottoman nucleus will grow like a snowball as it progresses from capital to capital. At each place it will appeal to the local groups of the Interparliamentary Union to advise and assist in the best method of bringing before the people of that country their manifesto and their appeal. In every capital they will hold meetings, submit resolutions and appoint deputations to wait upon the Government. Everywhere and always they will cry, We do not ask you to take our part, we only appeal to you to enable us to enforce the public law of Europe by the authority of an International Court of Justice. Then they will add to their number at each capital one new delegate from the local Parliament, so that when they arrive in London the pilgrims will consist of an Ottoman delegation of nine members supported and surrounded

by the representatives of fifteen other nations which have signed The Hague Conventions.

Why the £5,000 Fund?

Never before have the friends of peace and arbitration had such an opportunity of educating public opinion as to the need of an International Court of Justice to enforce and defend the public law of Europe. Never have we had so striking an object-lesson of the consequences of permitting international law to be disregarded and the right of the weak overridden by the might of the strong. It is Turkey's turn to-day. Who can say whose turn it may not be to-morrow? The appeal of the Ottoman Deputation, so picturesque, so unexpected, so natural and so necessary, will strike a responsive note in the heart and conscience of mankind. I want this meeting to instruct its convenors to constitute an International Committee of Appeal to the nations to give a more than royal welcome to these pilgrims of peace. I place the sum at £5,000 because it is no use endeavouring to appeal to a whole continent unless you have enough money to pay for printers' bills and postage stamps. If the poor war-harried Turks can raise £3,000, it is nonsense to think that the richest country in the world cannot raise £5,000 in such a cause.

Grounds for Confidence.

There is indeed no ground for discouragement save in the apathy of the middle-classes and the apparent indifference of Christian Churches. Already in every land the Socialists are up and stirring, making their protest, with an enthusiasm we shall do well to emulate. For this is a testing time for you, for me, and for all of us. If this supreme outrage upon public law and international morals rouses no indignant reaction in our hearts, then the conscience of this nation is dead and our doom is nigh. But I do not fear any such failure to our appeal. The very monstrosity of the indefensible crime which challenges us is our best ground of confidence that our appeal will not be made in vain. Everywhere we hope the response will be swift, decisive and overwhelming. But it is for everyone who loves justice and hateth iniquity, and above all for all those who call themselves by the Christian name to act and to act at once. (Loud and long continued cheers.)

Mr. Sherwell, M.P., then moved the first Resolution, which is as follows:—

"That this meeting regrets and condemns the action of the Italian Government in attempting to seize Tripoli, as a violation of the public law of Europe set forth in the Treaties of Paris and London, and of the moral judgment of mankind embodied in the Hague Conventions.

"This meeting believes it to be the imperative duty of the British Government to intimate to the Italian Government, without delay, that no annexation of territory made by it in North Africa can have any validity until it has been sanctioned by the Signatories of the Treaties

of 1856 and 1878, and that no such sanction will be given until Italy has made good her case and justified her conduct before an international tribunal."

What is meant by this resolution? In the first place, it is an unmistakable protest against a great and wholly unjustifiable act of brigandage. In the second place, it a clearly explicit declaration that in the judgment of this great audience the time has come when the sacred and binding obligations of treaties must be honoured and observed. I am not here to-night to make any pronouncement upon the merits of the quarrel between Italy and Turkey. Italy may be wrong. But what we as a great gathering of citizens complain of is that Italy entered upon a piratical raid on the territory of a neighbouring Power without bringing her case before the proper tribunal. The time has come to ask a plain and straightforward question and the question I submit to-night is this: What are we to understand is the attitude of the European Powers towards The Hague Conventions? Are these conventions worth nothing more than the parchment upon which they are written? I wish to say that if they mean nothing to the rulers of Europe they mean much to the peoples and to the nations. The rulers of Europe may attach no importance to these Conventions, but the people of Europe believe in them with a fervour which is a religion. But we are opposed, and I have been repeatedly asked in the last few days, "Why interfere? Why should England and other European nations not directly interested inferfere? Why should we attempt to interfere in a quarrel between those two Powers?" My reply is that we are about to interfere in the highest interests of the progress of humanity, and we dare not let such an instance pass unheeded. This is not a question of a few thousand miles of territory. The real matter which is at stake under this international question is whether the spirit of honour and the soul of Europe is to live as a governing power over the peoples. We are sometimes told that if we are not careful to mind our own business we may provoke a European conflagration. I admit that this danger of a European conflagration is the most pathetic, most tragic possibility, and shows to us more clearly than anything else how great is the loss of faith which European nations have suffered in recent years. I do not believe the danger to be real. Will any sane man suggest that if the Powers address themselves to Italy and remind her that the treaties she had signed were still in force that a conflagration would ensue. Italy would at once respond to the united voice of Europe.

Mr. Silvester Horne, M.P., seconded the resolution: I am glad to have the meeting in this place, and I am personally grateful to Mr. Stead for what he is doing not only in the cause of humanity in Tripoli but for the advancement of international law which has been outraged. I am proud to stand on this platform as a Liberal of the old school. I was not brought

up in the school which could be silent in a position like this The school I was brought up in was ready to protest agains injustice not only in its own country but in every country under the sun. When that is gone, Liberalism as I understand it is gone also. We are here because we feel that Liberalism is still a cause worth fighting for. But let us take courage and be of good cheer. This movement may only have begun, but it has begun and will go on. What has happened is not simply that certain soldiery are making war on women and children, but that war is being made upon a Convention instituted for the sake of the pacific settlement of international disputes, and we in this meeting are determined to see that not without a hard fight shall the international tribunal be given up. One more thing, which is this. England cannot remain silent and retain her moral force in the world. While this crime against international law is being prosecuted no Englishman who is really worthy of the name of Englishman will forget that the British Government contains millions of Mohammedans among its subjects. No Englishman ought to need to be told reasons for not keeping silent upon this great crime which is being committed. All war is horror, but there are horrors and horrors, and the present war is getting down to the lowest depths of the hell of war. England has got to stand up and say "These things shall not be."

Syed Ameer Ali, of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, said that when the news of the horrors of Tripoli reached India, the question which was universally asked was, How is this matter regarded by the people and by the Churches of England? The response is given to-day at this meeting this evening, and I hope and trust that this will not be the only meeting we shall have to express our disapproval, not only of the war but the methods by which that war is being carried on at this moment by a country which calls itself civilised. There is a strong feeling among the Mussulman subjects of the British Empire, who number 100,000,000. Since the war broke out they have held numerous meetings. When the news of fresh horrors which have transpired in Tripoli reaches them I only hope that they will come to hear that you have pronounced emphatically not only against the war, but also against the methods by which it is being conducted. I venture to hope that when the country has spoken it will be recognised that this war must be brought to a termination as soon as possible in order to prevent the development of a terrible possibility.

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham then moved the second Resolution:

That this meeting, welcoming the promised visit of the Ottoman delegates pleading for the observance of treaties and the settlement of disputes by obligatory arbitration, instructs its conveners to get together an International Committee of Appeal to the nation to utilise to the uttermost the opportunity thus afforded of rousing the public conscience to

demand that any State making war without first appealing to arbitration should be treated by all other States as an outlaw and enemy of the human race.

It would be as unreasonable for any man to charge upon the Italian nation the horrors which have been perpetrated in Tripoli as it would be to charge upon the British nation the stain of Denshawi, the massacre perpetrated in the Matoppos, and the bombardment of Alexandria, or for all the manifold international crimes which have stained our escutcheon. The same classes in Italy as in England are responsible for the blood that is shed. The same classes that have fought against freedom in Italy are the same classes which have placed Italy in her position of to-day. The guilt lies upon the head of the clever rascal, San Giuliano, and upon the time-serving Giolitti, and upon the clerical scamps who direct and control the Cabinet, and upon the infamous Banco di Roma. It is for us and for you to help us to light such a candle and to kindle such a blaze of sympathy that we may consume, if necessary, not only the Italian Government which has dragged down the great names of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour, which we all revere, but also the British Government, who have been made parties to the crime. Much capital will be made of the fact that The Hague Tribunal permits the execution of non-combatants and people not duly provided with a uniform. But all protocols and all communings together of diplomats (the dullest and most futile class of humanity) will never destroy the right inborn in every man to take arms in defence of his own country and the inherent right of the man who strikes against the invader of his own fatherland. Italy is the Benjamin of the European family. In our youth we watched her cast aside her chains. We have seen her emerge from feudalism and clericalism day by day and little by little and become a great Power. She is our Benjamin, our beloved son, our youngest christened nation. But if our youngest son does wrong shall we not argue with him and place before him the error of his ways, and, if necessary, beat him with a rod and save his soul alive ? That is what we have to tell to Italy. We have to remind her that a year ago she signed a treaty of arbitration with the Argentine Republic, that she signed the Treaty of Berlin and the Treaty of Paris. We have to recall her to a due sense of what is incumbent upon her. The greatest and most heroic figure of the nineteenth century received his warmest welcome here in this town of London, and we speak in his name as friends of Italy which, by the action of its Government, has placed its people in the position of Tedeschi and Stranieri, whom the Italians themselves hate and execrate as they are themselves now hated and execrated by the inhabitants of Tripoli. Let us examine what has been going forward in Tripoli. Along the shore of the Mediterranean lies a narrow strip of green ribbon. It is the fertile plain of Tripoli. Here and there little huts are clustered together, and round them

five times a day rise reverently to God the noblest and most impressive call to prayer that humanity has conceived. In this Sahal wave countless palm trees and beneath them in the evening the silent Arab maidens gather round the village well. It serves to bring before us, who really love the Scriptures, the patriarchal days of the past. Friends, on these men and these women who, a month ago, were happy in their peaceful life and in their arrested civilisation, on them have been loosed the dogs of war, and where there was peace, plenty, simplicity and patriarchal life desolation reigns. Bloodshed and lust have been slipped like wild dogs upon this people, and their simple tribal life is made an abomination and desolation from which their cries rise to us as free citizens of this mighty Empire for help in their extremities. How can we help them? How can we put an end to these horrors? In two ways. We can call upon the Governments to assert the rights of The Hague Tribunal with no uncertain voice. We can appeal to the peoples of Europe. And I have one great faith, the faith of citizens who indulge in a life of agitation, that the appeal will not be in vain. Friends, I place but little faith in our Government. I believe that there is help in England.

Mrs. Despard seconded the Resolution: I think that on such a platform as this, a platform where it is a question of the world's peace, it is right that the women should be represented. This question of peace is to women much more important than it is to men. I often say that in these matters the men have the fun of the thing while the women have nothing but to sit at home and wait for news of what is being done by those who have gone out to fight in the name of the country. I think this ought to be specially emphasized when talking about international arbitration. The point has been mentioned, but I wish also to speak about it, that for this war and other wars in general we have not to blame the peoples of the countries. Between the peoples there is no war, there is no quarrel. They are quite ready to love one another. The Governments are to be blamed for the wars. The Governments come upon the peoples by surprise. The workers who are the very backbone of the nation do not give sufficient attention to these things. They ought to be more wideawake than they are, and then they would not be so suddenly surprised to find that war is upon them. That was the case in Italy and in England not so long ago. Previous speakers have voiced that which some of us women have also felt deeply. The Italian people have been the heroes and heroines of our youth. I have never forgotten how I felt when Italy's independence was gained by those noble men and women . . . that spirit of liberty which has gone forth into our lives. There is another thing I wish to say, that while we have war within we shall have war without the nations, and that this competitive commercial system in which the nations live constitutes a war far more terrible in

its misery-producing effects than any other. If we are to get rid of war we must get rid of the war spirit both within and without the land.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Israel Zangwill then said some few words on the general question: I do not think anyone has more admiration for the Italians than I have. My last book ended with a remarkable praise of Italy. I actually picked out the Italians as the coming leaders of mankind, not as being the most fitted but as the least unfitted. I find that at the time I wrote this they were proving I was mistaken. The Italians had completed their first Dreadnought and had christened it Dante. And then they celebrated their unity by a great equestrian statue inside which fourteen or forty men could dine at a time. They were following the path of all other nations instead of striking an ideal path for themselves—large army, large navy, large taxes, and "my country right or wrong." In the resolution you have passed you have really adumbrated some sort of international council which will have behind it the will of all peoples and without some such council I am afraid our hopes on the subject will remain but hopes. This is where Mr. Stead and I disagree. I am a practical man. Two empires can arbitrate, but between the wolf and the lamb there is no arbitration. If the wolf wants to eat the lamb it can always find mint sauce. This usually takes the shape of various pretexts. Note, for instance, Germany. "Population increasing," &c., and need for her place in the sun. The countries they take they find are not white men's countries. Germany and France get countries for their surplus population, and these populations take tickets for the U.S.A. It is an ethical lie. It happens that I am a little mixed up in this war. Some years ago, in search of a land in which to save the Jews from persecution in Russia, I conceived the idea of using Cyrenaica and organising emigration there. I have been looking up a book I wrote in connection with this matter, and I find I quote that Signor Tittoni declared in the Italian Parliament on January 4, 1908, with solemn assurance that Italy had no territorial designs on Tripoli. The result of our labours was the discovery that the country was not worth while. There was very little water, and the soil was such that water sank down to irrecoverable depths. I did not think it was good enough for the poor Jews, but the Italians have gone to war for it to-day. This report of mine has been published by the anti-Italian Press. I hope we shall get to the heart of things and get an international tribunal, and bring up the European Concert to concert pitch, for it now only sings music-hall tunes.

The third Resolution, which runs as follows, was moved by Shakour Pasha, a Christian Ottoman from Egypt:—

"That, apart from the political aspect of the question, this meeting calls upon the British nation to take the lead of Christendom in stigmatising the atrocities committed by the Italian

Army in Tripoli, and in urging the Italian nation to make amends for the inhuman action of its army.

"That peoples of other creeds, and Moslems in particular, should be notified of the abhorrence felt by Christian nations in general of such crimes against humanity."

He said: This is the first time I have spoken in public. I want to ask you for a few minutes to look upon this question from the point of view of the Mussulman, the point of view from which your fellow-subjects are looking at it at present. In your dominions there are no fewer than 100,000,000, or two and a half times as many as the inhabitants of this country. These all look upon the Sultan as the representative of their religion upon earth, although they are loyal British subjects. How strong is this tie can be seen from the fact that an Arab sheik who had been fighting the Turkish Government for many years and whose people had been fighting the Government for more than a century, came forward, threw down his arms, and said, "I am with you until the last." There is a very real tie which binds together the Mussulmen in all parts of the world. I am not a Mussulman, I am a Christian, and therefore I can speak from a perfectly neutral point of view. I have been educated in Italy. My son has been brought up by an Italian nurse. I have great faith in the Italian nation, and I think that in time the Italian nation will wish to repair the harm that has been done. One of the speakers has said that England would have rendered a service to Italy if she had stopped her at the beginning. It is necessary that the war should be stopped to prevent the possibility of the terrible consequences which might ensue, if you look at the matter from the point of view of the 100,000,000 Mussulmen. To them the nations of Europe are almost the same. English, German, French and Italian are all the same to them. To their simple and ignorant eyes the blame rests equally on the nations of Europe. To their minds it is Christianity against Islam. That is what I want to warn you against. That is what I want to emphasize. There are at least 60,000,000 in China, and it is necessary that they should know that this war is not one that is backed up by the Christian nations.

Mr. J. E. Milholland said: I am something of a traveller, but I do not want to talk to a travelling congregation. What strikes me is that we spend millions for war, not even thousands for peace. No civilised nation had a State Secretary for Peace. No war was necessary when the United States made the Louisiana purchase or in the settlement of the Alaska Boundary question. If the Italians wanted Tripoli, they should have gone to the real estate people of the world and bought it; it would have been much cheaper. He had drafted a Resolution which, however, he would not move, but merely lay its substance before the meeting:—

"Whereas the maintenance of peace throughout the world

is of the highest importance to human progress, therefore be it resolved: that this task be left no longer entirely to the impulse of philanthropic wealth or to the voluntary effort of private individuals, but be made one of the most serious functions of every civilised Government, and with that end in view be it resolved: as the opinion of this meeting that the position of Secretary for Peace should be created forthwith by His Majesty's and by all other Governments worthy of the name, and filled by the most competent persons that can be found for such portfolios, resolved: that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Prime Minister and to the responsible official heads of the various nations."

The Chairman said that there were present on the platform prepared to speak in support of the resolution representatives of Italian Socialists, American Trade Unionists, Indian Radicals, and a full-blooded Red Indian from Canada. Owing to the late hour he could not call upon these gentlemen.

The following is a brief summary of the speech which the Red Indian would have delivered had an opportunity been afforded him :—

Mr. J. Ojijatekha Brant-Sero, a Canadian Mohawk Indian :—

"As a representative Canadian, born of full aboriginal blood in the forest of Ontario, I am pleased to be here to support the hands of those who are protesting against this butchery at Tripoli. I am a veteran of the South African War, but I was born and reared amongst a people whose organic law—the Six Nations—is based on the rule of women, and the total abstention from all wars. I am only voicing the democratic sentiments of Canada in doing so, having full regard for the Anglo-Saxon and the French-Canadian sections of my native land. It is horrifying to think that Italy should close her fifty years of freedom by such commemoration of blood-thirstiness and wanton brutality to stain her otherwise glorious history. Only a few Sundays ago I witnessed an inspiring spectacle of over one hundred thousand Germans assembled in Treptow Park, Berlin, unitedly protesting against the possibility of war over the Moroccan question. Amongst this huge gathering there was not a policeman or a soldier to be seen. It was the expression of Germany's democratic heart for Peace. Here is a lesson, a demonstration for democratic unity and desire for peace. I have reason to believe that the French people are equally desirous for the maintenance of Peace, and that their hearts are with us in this matter. Let us stop this war, and set our minds to work repairing the neglected tatters of modern civilisation by living in peace with all men, regardless of creed or race, is the message of hope I offer the white race, coupled with this national protest against the horrors at Tripoli."

The Resolution was carried unanimously. One of the most enthusiastic and intense meetings held in London of late years came to an end.

CHAPTER XIII.

What We Can Do.

Let us consider what the Government can do.

The British Government is bound by the precedents of its predecessors and by its own obligation as one of the signatories of the Treaties of Paris (1856), London (1871), and Berlin (1878), which form the basis of the Public Law of Europe, to protest against the violation of these treaties by the Italian Government, and to intimate that no alteration of the *status quo* of the Ottoman Empire has any validity until it has received the sanction of all the signatories of the aforesaid treaties, and that no such sanction will be given by His Majesty's Government until Italy has made good her case and justified her conduct before an impartial tribunal of international arbitration.

The British Government can, and ought, as one of the signatories of the Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of disputes, perform the duty which it has hitherto neglected by reminding the Powers in dispute of the existence of the Hague Tribunal and pressing them to settle their disputes by means of arbitration.

The British Government can and ought to obtain and publish authentic information as to how the rules of war drawn up and signed by the representatives of all civilised Powers, including Great Britain and Italy, have been violated in the military operations in Tripoli by the massacre of unarmed men, women and children, the shooting of prisoners of war, &c.

The British Government can and ought to declare that if the Italian Government persists in carrying on the war in Africa in defiance of the Hague rules of war, it will mark its condemnation of such an outrage upon civilisation in the same way that it indicated its condemnation of the murder of the King and Queen of Servia—by withdrawing its Ambassador from Rome.

The British Government can and ought to intimate to Italy that its declaration of neutrality was issued on the emphatic assurance that the military operations would be confined to North Africa and the naval operations to the protection of Italian coasts and shipping, it cannot and will not consent to the extension of the war beyond its original limits, and that any attempt to make war upon the other provinces or ports of the Ottoman Empire would be regarded as an unfriendly act and a violation of the Public Law of Europe, which it is their duty and their intention to defend.

The British Government can and ought to declare that as the institution of a blockade of the Dardanelles—one of the main arteries of the world's commerce—would increase the price of

the bread of the people by 10 per cent., no such blockade will be permitted for the purpose of enforcing the illegal seizure of Turkish provinces in North Africa.

So much for the Government. Now let us consider what private citizens can do to urge the Government to do its duty.

Individuals by themselves can do little. But if each does what he can, and does it at once, much may be effected.

1. Write to your Member of Parliament. You need not be an elector. So long as you reside in his constituency you are a constituent, even if you be a woman, and a letter addressed to your Member at the House of Commons, asking him to do what he can to stop the war, and stop it at once, is one of the simplest and most obvious means of bringing your influence to bear upon the House of Commons. If you can do nothing else, you can tear out the Memorial on the last page, leave the first line blank, sign it yourself and get four others of the most influential persons in your acquaintance to sign it, and then send it to your Member, asking him to sign it and return it to you.

2. Write to or call upon the Mayor of your town, or the chairman of your local governing authority, asking him whether he would consent to call a town's meeting on the subject of the war if a requisition were presented to him signed by a sufficient number of householders. At the same time you might enclose a form of the Memorial to the Government which has been drawn up by Lord Avebury, asking him to sign it. If he promises to call a town's meeting, then you can proceed to get up the requisition. (See suggestions on following page.)

3. Write to your local editors, calling their attention to this pamphlet, and asking them (*a*) to sign the Memorial themselves. (*b*) to ask their readers to do the same, and (*c*) to call for a public expression of local opinion on the subject. (See suggested form of letter to editors.)

4. Write to or call upon your own minister, and ask him (*a*) to sign the Memorial, (*b*) to sign the requisition, (*c*) to preach or speak upon the appeal to the conscience of the nation, and (*d*) to secure the passing of resolutions on the subject by the local Church Council, Brotherhood meeting, or any similar association of Christian men and women in the town or village. (See suggested form of letter to ministers.)

5. If a town's meeting is impossible, and if your ministers and editors make no response to your appeal, see what can be done by appealing to any other organisations—industrial, social, or political—or to any persons whom you can influence, asking them to do what can be done to afford the public an opportunity of expressing an opinion on this question.

6. Abstain from buying any Italian goods, dealing with any Italian firms, buying any Italian stocks, travelling in any Italian ships, visiting Italy, or holding any communication with any Italian so long as the war lasts, unless at the same time you express your opinion on the conduct of the Italian Government and urge your correspondent to use his influence to stop the war, and stop it now.

7. Subscribe yourself to the extent of your means and collect subscriptions from your friends towards the £5,000 fund for the reception of the Ottoman delegates, and the education of public opinion in favour of the maintenance and enforcement of the Public Law of Europe by the establishment of an International High Court of Arbitral Justice with compulsory powers.

8. Purchase and distribute pamphlets and leaflets giving information on the subject of the war.

By doing any or, better still, all these things, you will utilise the present opportunity afforded by the tremendous object-lesson of this unprovoked war, by educating the public opinion of the nation in favour of a great onward movement towards the substitution of Peace with Justice by Arbitration for international anarchy and the unchecked dominance of armed force over the liberties and rights of nations.

SUGGESTED FORM OF REQUISITION FOR A TOWN'S MEETING.

To the Worshipful the Mayor of

We, the undersigned inhabitants of , respectfully request your Worship to summon a Town's Meeting at the earliest convenient date, in order to consider the violation of the Public Law of Europe committed by the Italian Government in attacking the Ottoman Empire and annexing two of its provinces, and to pass resolutions calling upon the Government to provide safeguards against similar outrages in the future by pressing for the establishment of an International High Court of International Justice with compulsory powers.

SUGGESTED RESOLUTIONS FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS.

1. "That this meeting regrets and condemns the action of the Italian Government in attempting to seize Tripoli, as a

violation of the Public Law of Europe set forth in the Treaties of Paris and London, and of the moral judgment of mankind embodied in the Hague Conventions.

"This meeting believes it to be the imperative duty of the British Government to intimate to the Italian Government, without delay, that no annexation of territory made by it in North Africa can have any validity until it has been sanctioned by the signatories of the treaties of 1856 and 1878, and that no such sanction will be given until Italy has made good her case and justified her conduct before an international tribunal."

2. "That this meeting, welcoming the promised visit of the Ottoman delegates pleading for the observance of treaties and the settlement of disputes by obligatory arbitration, demands that any State making war without first appealing to arbitration should be treated by all other States as an outlaw and enemy of the human race."

3. "That these resolutions be signed by the Mayor in the name of this meeting and forwarded to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Member for this constituency, and to the Italian and Turkish Ambassadors in London."

SUGGESTED LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF LOCAL PAPERS (MORNING, EVENING, AND WEEKLY).

To the Editor.

Sir,—May I ask you to call the attention of your readers to the grave moral and political issues raised by the sudden and unprovoked attack made by Italy upon Turkey for the avowed purpose of annexing two Turkish provinces? If this violation of treaty right be passed by in silence, the Public Law of Europe is destroyed, and the fate of Turkey to-day may be that of any other Power to-morrow whose military and naval forces are too weak to oppose effective resistance to the might of a stronger neighbour. The facts of the case are succinctly stated in a pamphlet entitled "Tripoli and the Treaties," a copy of which I forward for your perusal. I earnestly hope that we may have your assistance in securing an adequate expression of the public sentiment of this community on this burning question.

I am, yours truly,

SUGGESTED LETTER TO MINISTERS OF RELIGION.

Reverend Sir,—May I respectfully ask whether you will assist in enabling the Christian conscience of the nation to condemn the lawless outrage upon the Public Law of Europe and the moral sense of mankind by the attack made by Italy upon Turkey for the avowed purpose of seizing its African provinces ?

The Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Hereford, and Bath and Wells have already united their voices with the heads of the great Nonconformist bodies and the Free Church Council in protesting against this international crime. But it is surely a matter which should be pressed upon the conscience of every citizen, especially of those who call themselves by the name of Christ. I enclose you a brief statement of the case, with a copy of a Memorial to the Government on the subject. I shall be glad if you will sign the latter and return it to me. Pray inform me of any action which you or your congregation may see fit to take in this matter.

I am, yours truly,

W. SPEAIGHT AND SONS,
PRINTERS
FETTER LANE, LONDON.

MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT ON THE WAR.

(Drawn up by the Right Hon. Lord Avebury.)

"We offer no opinion on the merits of the dispute. Turkey may be in the wrong; Italy may have real grievances; but this does not justify her in disturbing the peace of the world. Moreover, the fact that Turkey was attacked with practically no notice, is an aggravation of the evil precedent which has been set.

"We deeply regret that Italy did not refer her complaint to a tribunal of the Hague Court or some other form of arbitration.

"We hope that no Government will consent to recognise any annexation of territory by Italy, but that all will insist on reference of the dispute to arbitration."

SIGNATURE.	ADDRESS.

TO THE READER. Please tear out this page, sign it yourself, obtain as many influential signatures as you can and return it to W. T. STEAD, BANK BUILDINGS, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C., from whom additional forms of the Memorial for signature can be obtained on application.

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